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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE WORD AND WAX: FOLK PSYCHOLOGY AND UKRAINIANS IN ALBERTA

BY

RENA JEANNE HANCHUK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1990

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ISBN 0-315-64920-8

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DEGREE: Master of Arts

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.....
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9903 - 74 Street
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Date: June 4, 1990

THE HEALER

The healer: well-versed in herbs,
who knows through experience the roots,
the trees, the stones.
She is experienced, tests her remedies,
examines, keeps her secrets, her traditions.
The good healer:
cures people, helps them,
puts them on their feet,
eases their bodies,
brings them to convalescence,
covers their wounds with ashes, cures, remedies,
makes incisions, draws the blood, sews,
purges people, gives them remedies.

Attributes of Aztec physicians and healers as described in the Florentine Codex.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE WORD AND WAX: FOLK PSYCHOLOGY AND UKRAINIANS IN ALBERTA submitted by RENA JEANNE HANCHUK in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE.

B Medwidsky
.....
Dr. B. Medwidsky
(Supervisor)

Peter a Rolland
.....
Dr. P. Rolland

David Young
.....
Dr. D. Young
(External)

Date: June 11 1990

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the memory of my maternal grandmother, Mariia Kapits'ka-CHolak, who instilled in me a love for things Ukrainian and who encouraged me to seek the help of Mrs. V. B., who twelve years later became the central figure of this thesis. The present work celebrates both these women's memories.

ABSTRACT

For nearly one hundred years, Albertans of Ukrainian descent have frequented healers who practice a type of folk medicine called the Wax Ceremony. The Wax Ceremony is believed to cure a myriad of maladies such as fear-sickness, headaches, stuttering and bed-wetting. Magico-religious in form, it is a divination process which exorcises the afflicting evil spirit, thereby providing almost instant psychological and physiological relief.

Field research for this study included interviews with seven healers and twenty-three patients. A profile of the patients and the reasons they sought the services of lay healers showed that patients came from all walks of life and had varying levels of education and professional status. All of the patients sought the services of lay healers because they offered a cure which the mainstream medical profession could not.

A comparison and contrast of different healers' techniques and incantations revealed that while some Canadian adaptations had occurred, for the most part the ceremony remained authentic. Many similarities were found in the respective healer's techniques.

While some forms of folk medicine have fallen by the wayside, the Wax Ceremony has continued to flourish despite pressures on Ukrainians to assimilate. The most important element in the preservation of the Wax Ceremony is the fact that lay healer and patient alike share a common disease etiology and methodology for curing. A unique social interdependence binding patient and healer has therefore emerged.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I express my deepest gratitude to the dozens of individuals and organizations which provided me with moral and financial support to help me fulfill my dream.

I acknowledge my thesis supervisor, Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky, for his patience and genuine interest in my work.

I thank the Department of Slavic and East European Studies for financial and moral support. I also thank Historic Sites Services, Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism for its financial support of the present work. I express my appreciation to St. John's Institute for awarding me the S.F. Woloshyn scholarship and to the Sudbury, Ontario Branch of the Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club for awarding me the J. Syroid Scholarship.

I acknowledge the Ukrainian Museum of Canada, Saskatoon, for the provision of research materials. A special note of appreciation is due to librarian Mrs. Marion Lake, who worked diligently at acquiring Inter-Library loan materials for me during my stay at the University of Regina.

For technical advice, I acknowledge the assistance of Radomir Bilash. I thank my proofreaders: Dr. Gust Olson, and Marie Lesoway, who pored over every word of this work, and who in the final weeks of editing and correcting, held both my hand, and my spirit--together we burned the midnight wax.

I thank Mrs. N. D. and her family for their cooperation and for opening their hearts and their doors to me. I also thank my thirty-one informants for their belief and their willingness to openly share their convictions with me. A thank you is also due to the secondary informants who posed as patients during several interviews.

I warmly thank the healers who shared their secrets, power, and prayers with me.

Last, but far from least, I thank my family for their guidance and my parents who planted this seed.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A. Definitions

The following research deals with a dynamic folk medical phenomenon known in Ukrainian as *vylyvaty visk* or *strakh vylyvaty*. A loose English translation would be "the pouring forth of wax" or "the pouring forth of fear." This phenomenon has also been called the "Wax Ceremony" in English. The latter title will be used throughout this study.

The Wax Ceremony is a genre of folk medicine that can best be described as magico-religious and oral-incantational in nature. The ceremony, while sometimes steeped in superstitions, sometimes in Christianity, and sometimes in both, depending upon the healer, is performed to cure a patient of what ails him. The cure is often a divinatory process. While the Wax Ceremony belongs to the genre of folklore known as "folk medicine," it also overlaps with other genres such as oral literature because it is never performed without an accompanying ritual prayer or incantation. The oral formula or incantation contains vestiges of religious or parareligious symbols. In order to effectuate a cure, the healer fuses magic, religion, formula and faith.

The Wax Ceremony was part of a rich folkloric tradition brought to Alberta by an agrarian people who emigrated primarily from the Western regions of Ukraine.[1] This type of folk medicine was widely practiced in Ukraine, particularly in the Western regions, and was easily transplanted to the new homeland, and eventually, to the host culture. Unlike other folk remedies, the Wax Ceremony did not require herbs, plasters or other *materia medica* which were not easily obtainable or readily available in Alberta. Armed with an appropriate incantation, water, and beeswax, the folk healer could practice this medicine virtually anytime, anywhere.

The importance of the Wax Ceremony must have been paramount at the time of immigration and in the years that immediately followed. This was a medicine that alleviated or nullified fear, nervousness, and anxiety along with other social and psychological disorders, such as sleeplessness and restlessness, which are surely inherent to a new people in a foreign land. The Wax Ceremony was a culturally meaningful method of reducing stress and anxiety. The healers who practiced it externalized these afflictions, and wrought a sense of normality to their patients with the treatments. They provided an effective mechanism for coping and for regulating the overall state of wellness among the pioneers. They carried out an important social role within the culture.

The Wax Ceremony fulfilled, if only in part, the medical and social needs of a people who had their own distinct disease etiologies and intra-culturally defined illnesses. It is only logical that, in seeking health care, Ukrainian pioneers would choose practitioners who shared their primary etiological assumptions. The financial status of Ukrainian immigrants and their inability to communicate in English would also have accentuated the need for Ukrainian lay healers in the early years of settlement. The Wax Ceremony not only flourished in Alberta, but grew to become an integral and dynamic component of the entire transposed folklore complex.

The Wax Ceremony was chosen as the topic for this thesis because of its widespread practice and popularity. Nearly one hundred years after the first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Alberta, the Wax Ceremony is still being practiced and even revered by many Ukrainian-Albertans. This is particularly impressive when one considers that as an ethnic group, Ukrainians have been exposed to assimilation for almost one hundred years.

The present study explores the healing legacy of a *sage-femme* who continued to heal until her death in 1986 at the age of ninety-three. Her profile as a popular healer is juxtaposed with that of other Ukrainian lay healers. Their healing is examined within the greater context of lay healing both intra-culturally and cross-culturally. Why the Wax

Ceremony is still practiced today when other forms of folk medicine have fallen by the wayside, and how and where adjustments have been made to the Wax Ceremony by both healer and patient is explored.

Although this medical practice has been and still is such an integral component of the fibre of the Ukrainian-Canadian belief system, it has at best been scantily represented in ethnographic literature and in local histories. It is the intent of the present work to fill this gap of information and shed insight not only about the Wax Ceremony proper, but about the greater Ukrainian folk medical complex as obtained in Alberta.

B. Research in the Field

In conducting research about the Wax Ceremony, the following genres of literature were consulted:

a) scholarly texts

b) local histories

c) *belles-lettres*

d) unpublished sources

Sources not relating to Slavic cultures were not included in this study.

a) Scholarly Texts

Relatively little information about the Wax Ceremony or the healers who practice it is available in scholarly texts dealing with folk medicine. In some of the available literature, the Wax Ceremony is not exclusively defined as medicine. Rather, it is often discussed in association with witchcraft or devil lore, or found in works dealing with children. The

interface of the Wax Ceremony with witchcraft can perhaps be explained as follows. A great deal of belief and power are attached to the Wax Ceremony. Almost without exception, the healers occupy special places within the social group. They are distinct from other members in society because thay are considered to wield special mystical powers--powers that are often curative. This status-and power are frequently equated with the powers of black magic and the underworld. The association with children's medicine could be that young children are easily traumatized. They frequent the wax healer the most, and are quickly and effectively exorcised of the Evil Eye or of bad spirits.

The boundaries of the Wax Ceremony are complicated and undefined not only in terms of how the ceremony is categorized (e.g., medicine/witchcraft), but in terms of what can be called its essential components. Wax, an integral component of the Wax Ceremony, is also used as a curative agent in other types of folk medicine. It is apparent that when wax is not available, some healers may use lead, solder, or even an egg to accomplish the underlying purpose of the Wax Ceremony--that is, to cure fear. Several examples of use of wax and wax substitutes to cure fear are available in the literature.

In Volume One of his work Trudy etnograficheskо-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai [Works of the Ethnographic-Statistical Expedition in Western Ukraine], P. CHubinskii describes a cure for fright and the Evil Eye for children. A bowl of water is held over the child's head, and melted wax is poured into the water. The water is then given to the child to drink three times.[2] In describing a cure for *perepolokh* [3] or fear, CHubinskii says that only a *baba*[4] Wise Woman can cure a person from this fear. Here the *baba* uses an egg which she rolls over the inflicted person and then gives to the dogs to eat. She chants:

> Pereliak--pereliashe! IAzh tebe iaitsem vykachuiu,
> Na pushchi i na sukhyi lis vysylaiu,
> Tut tobi ne buvaty, chervonoi krovi ne spyvaty,
> Synikh zhyl ne potiahaty, zhovtoi kosti ne lamaty.[5]

[Fear--fear! I am drawing you out with an egg,
I am sending you out to barren lands
and into a parched forest,
Here you are not to exist, you are not to drink red blood,
Nor to draw out blue veins, nor to crack a yellow bone.]

The cure effected by rolling an egg over the body is comparable to the cure gained through the Wax Ceremony, and as will be later discussed in this work, so too is the accompanying incantation. Three of the Wax Ceremony informants interviewed for this study also mentioned the use of an egg to effect a cure for fear.[6] These informants' descriptions of how the egg was used were consistent with that provided by CHubinskii.

Other variations about how eggs were used to cure fear are also recorded in the literature. In an article entitled "Zdorovie krestian na Ukraine" ["The Health of Peasants in Ukraine"] in Delo, [The Act], S. Podolins'kyi says that fear is cured with an egg. The *babka* rolls an egg over the patient's body, and then breaks it into the water. Podolins'kyi says a cure is inevitable if the healer is able to discern the cause of the fear by interpreting the egg-white formations.[7]

Although eggs and other materials are used for the divination of fear, wax seems to be the most common agent. In Dokhrystyians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu [Pre-Christian Beliefs of the Ukrainian People], Metropolitan Ilarion mentions that blessed candles, especially those which are consecrated at Easter, have the ability to ward off fear. He also maintains that wax is holy because it is used for church candles, and more importantly, it is a product of bees which are "God's birds" or "God's flies."[8] In Russkii iazycheskii fol'klor: ocherki byta i nravov [Russian Pagan Folklore: An Overview of Everyday Life and Customs], IU. Miroliubov describes the following cure for fear using water and melted wax on the belly of a patient: hot wax is poured into a bowl of cold water, and the resulting figures are buried at a crossroad. The water is used to wash the patient, and then discarded.[9] In volume five of his work Hutsul'shchyna [The Hutsul Region], V. SHukhevych gives several cures which involve beeswax or mixtures containing

beeswax, and several lengthy incantations which accompany these cures.[10] In Healing Ritual: Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs,[11] P. Kemp describes how waxen balls are swallowed in the hope that an internal wound will be sealed. He also explains how cures are effected by using lead and wax in a divination process.[12]

Although wax was a favored material for several medical practices, it was not exclusively reserved for healing. Wax was also widely used as an agent of fortune-telling and witchcraft in Ukrainian culture. According to IE. Onats'kyi in Ukrains'ka mala entsyklopediia [A Concise Ukrainian Encyclopedia], wax was an important commodity, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the western Ukrainian city of L'viv was a major centre for the wax industry. Onats'kyi goes on to say that fortune-telling and witchcraft using wax were very popular in Ukraine at one time. One use of wax for these purposes was for voodoo dolls or waxen images made depicting an enemy: the wax figure could be poked with a needle or thrown on a fire to melt.[13]

There are many attestations regarding the use of wax in fortune-telling or fore-telling in Ukrainian and other Slavic literatures. In Poeticheskaia vozzreniia slavian na prirodu [The Poetic Outlook of Slavs on Nature], A. Afanasev states that if a baby's hair is mixed with melted wax and this wax and hair nugget floats in a container of water, the child shall have a long life. Should the nugget sink, the opposite is foretold.[14] IU. Miroliubov[15] describes how, on New Year's Eve[16] wax and/or lead are poured to predict the future. In L. Borovykovs'kyi's ballad "Marusia," wax is also mentioned as an agent in fortune-telling:

> . . . Visk topyly na zharku
> I z vodóiu v cherepku
> Dóliu vylyvály . . .[17]
>
> [. . . They melted wax over a flame,
> And with water in a vessel,
> Poured forth their fate . . .]

In Dokhrystyians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu, Metropolitan Ilarion writes that Shevchenko, one of Ukraine's most famous authors, makes many references to fortune-telling. He presents one such example from Shevchenko's first anthology, Kobzar [The Wandering Minstrel]:

> I vorozhka vorozhyla,
> Prystrit zamovliala,
> Talan-Doliu za try shahy
> Z vosku vylyvala.[18]
>
> [And the soothsayer prophesied,
> Charming the Evil Eye,
> For three shahy (monetary unit)
> Pouring destiny and fortune from the wax.]

In Chapter Four of A. Nechui-Viter's short story, "Ne bulo zmalku--ne bude i dostanku" ["If You Haven't Got It In Youth, You Won't Get It Later"], the author gives a detailed and lengthy dialogue between a young girl and a fortune-teller. The latter, by reading the waxen figures, is able to tell the girl that she should soon prepare herself for a suitor.[19]

The scholarly and literary evidence about the use of wax in fortune-telling is corroborated by the field research done for this study. One of the informants who was interviewed, Mrs. A. R., described how she pours wax for fortune-telling all year long. She is quite well-known, and sometimes pours wax for this purpose several times a month.[20]

There is ample scholarly and firsthand evidence that wax, used alternatively with lead, solder or eggs, was used extensively within Ukrainian culture in a variety of circumstances: for black magic, white magic, divination, curative purposes, and to facilitate forms of fortune-telling and fore-telling. However, most central to this work are sources which deal specifically with the Wax Ceremony. A summary of these follows.

In Traditional Doukhobor Folkways: An Ethnographic and Biographic Record of Prescribed Behavior,[21] K. Tarasoff interviewed Doukhobors about various aspects of their culture.[22] In Chapter Nine, "Health and Healing," two different informants said that to cure fright, wax was cast on water by a *babushka*. The same process was described by an additional three informants, who said solder was used to cure fright or associated illnesses wrought by fright. One informant said that either wax or solder were used, depending upon availability.

In an unpublished paper given by F. M. Mealing, "Doukhobor Healing Psalms: An Overview," the author describes how a child is cured of fear by *babushka* Strelioff, who would ". . . pour the 'fright'/cure on his head and he [would] get well soon enough."[23]

O. Kolberg, a well-known Polish ethnographer, describes the Wax Ceremony in two different works. In Mazowsze czesc VII[24] [Mazovia, Part VII], he says that when a child is sick, wax is cast upon water, and when the figures are read, the child is cured. In this same work Kolberg also mentions casting an egg on water to discern the cause of an illness. In another work, Chelmskie, czesc II[25] [The Chelm Region, Part II], he says that wax is poured for children who are ill. If the hardened wax has some figures on it, this can be interpreted to mean that the child has been afflicted with fear. If, however, the wax comes out smooth, the source of the child's illness is not fear.

The journal Kievskaia Starina[26] [Kievan Antiquities], includes an article entitled "Liky moho sela" ["Cures of My Village"] in which a description of the Wax Ceremony in a village in the Poltava region is given. The anonymous author states that wax is often cast for children, and that the Wax Ceremony is very widely practiced. Unfortunately, the author does not include the accompanying incantation to which he makes brief references.

In a very descriptive article in the same journal, "Narodna meditsina v lubenskom uezde, poltavskoi gubernii" ["Folk Medicine in the Lubny Region of Poltava Province"], V. Miloradovich gives details about the Wax Ceremony itself and about the ritual surrounding it. He explains the use of fresh water and the significance of strings or other

materials that can be used in conjunction with the Wax Ceremony. Of all the available scholarly works which deal with the Wax Ceremony, this article is one of the most informative.[27]

In Narodne likuvannia ukraintsiv karpat kintsia XIX - pochatku XX stolittia[28] [Folk Healing of the Carpathian Ukrainians at the End of the XIX - Beginning of the XX Century], Z. Boltarovych makes reference to the Wax Ceremony twice. In a chapter about lay healers, she writes that there were women who specialized in pouring wax on behalf of women and children who had been afflicted with fear-sickness.[29] Further descriptions or details about the Wax Ceremony are not given, and although her entire work deals with popular folk medicine, Boltarovych barely mentions the Wax Ceremony.

In the Polish journal Wisla[30] [Vistula], S. Dabrowska refers to a male folk doctor who pours wax. She gives some details of the actual process he uses and includes an interview with a man who had been to this healer. The patient describes his experience with the lay doctor, and confirms that what the healer had told him was accurate for something that had frightened him ten years previously.

In "Pro narodni zabobony" ["About Folk Superstitions"], an article in the journal "Zoria"[31] ["The Star"], D. Lepkyi refers to fear-sickness as something that is common but not serious. He says that wax or lead are used to determine the cause of the illness. It is interesting to note that the author does not view the Wax Ceremony as folk medicine, but rather, considers it to be a superstition--a *zabobon*, as it is known in Ukrainian.

In Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition, R. Klymasz identifies *strakh* or fear as an illness that is still part of the greater Ukrainian-Canadian folklore complex. He includes an incantation and a brief description of the Wax Ceremony.[32]

b) Local Histories

Certain information about the Wax Ceremony was gleaned from several local histories of Ukrainian communities on the Canadian prairies.

In a local history by L. Gulutsan, Deedo's Children: A Story of John Hryhor of Nipawin Saskatchewan, an informant recounts how a young girl is frightened by dogs and is consequently taken to a soothsayer to have wax poured. The informant is very vague, and offers little insight into what actually transpired at the soothsayer's home: "Mrs. Holowaty melted some wax and poured it over some water as she muttered some incantations."[33]

In another local history by O. Koshets', Spohady [Recollections], the Wax Ceremony is mentioned in two sentences. Koshets' says that *baby-vorozhky* or, roughly translated, female healers-soothsayers who poured wax, were to be found in Ukraine, and entire villages would seek the services of such healers. Koshets' makes no further mention of these healers.[34]

The Wax Ceremony is also mentioned in Memories: Redwater and District edited by A. Hrynchuk. In a paragraph under "Medical History," an informant says that if a child is frightened he should be taken to a woman endowed with the powers of magic: she will pour wax and the child will be cured. The informant offers no other specifics about the Wax Ceremony.[35]

In All of Baba's Children,[36] M. Kostash relates an informant's description of how his mother would go to a local healer to have wax poured whenever anything troubled her. The informant says that the same healer even cured his own daughter, who had been frightened by a black dog. No other details are given, but the same healer is depicted in "*Pamiat'*," a film directed by Ukrainian-Canadian filmmaker Harvey Spak. In an interview granted for this study, Spak said that he chose to dramatize the Wax Ceremony because it is

very common and well-known not only to his own family and friends, but to the many Ukrainians who live in East Central Alberta.[37]

c) *Belles-lettres*

Perhaps the best attestation to the popularity of the Wax Ceremony is its depiction within *belles-lettres*. So popular a phenomenon, this medicine is often depicted as an activity of the common folk.

In Vusy: Komediia u 4 diiakh[38] [The Moustache: A Comedy in 4 Acts], Oryshka, one of author M. Kropyvnyts'kyi's characters, cautions that the newborn child which she holds must be protected from fear lest the child need to have wax poured to be rid of fears which may afflict it. The fact that no details of this act are given to the reader indicates that Kropyvnyts'kyi, like the other authors mentioned here, assumes that the reader is well acquainted with the Wax Ceremony and that no explanation is necessary.

In P. Myrnyi's novel Poviia[39] [The Prostitute], there is a scene where a healer is entreated to pour wax for a young lad who is acting very much out of character. The author describes how the healer pours the wax, and gives details of her reading or interpretation of what she sees in the wax.

A. Nechui-Viter's work "Ne bulo zmalku--ne bude i dostanku,"[40] mentioned earlier in conjunction with fortune-telling using wax, also includes three passages that refer to the Wax Ceremony and one rather lengthy dialogue between a healer and a young girl who has gone to the Wise Woman for help. In the latter passage, the healer uses lead and not wax in her work.

The Wax Ceremony has also been depicted in the works of Ukrainian-Canadian authors. T. Galay includes a dialogue in his play "After Baba's Funeral" in which Netty, one of the main characters, explains how she would calm a distressed child by pouring wax

for him or her.[41] In V. Lysenko's novel, Yellow Boots, one finds a brief passage about the Wax Ceremony:

> Granny was casting wax into water and murmuring incantations. She was convinced that some evil thing had caused the girl's illness and the wax would take the shape of this evil and drive it from the girl.[42]

d) Unpublished Sources

Several unpublished reports[43] about the Wax Ceremony have been completed at the University of Alberta as part of Ukrainian folklore courses. L. Chomik submitted a paper called "Folklore Medicine" which deals specifically with two healers who practice the Wax Ceremony. She not only explains in detail what the two healers do while pouring wax for her, but also expresses her own personal interpretation of what is happening and which of the two healers is, in her opinion, more authentic.

Two separate studies were done by the present author: "A Comparative Study of Folk Medicine in the Ukrainian-Canadian Context: The Wax Ceremony" and "Fortune-Telling in the Canadian-Ukrainian Context: The Wax Ceremony, a Documentation and Analysis." Both studies have audio-taped interviews with one of the three healers discussed in this study. Both also include videotapes of the healer performing the Wax Ceremony.

In an unpublished study, "Ukrainian Folk Customs, Beliefs and Rituals in East Central Alberta prior to 1930," R. Klymasz documents interviews which he conducted with over one hundred informants. One of the questions that was asked of the informants was whether or not they had heard of the Wax Ceremony. Almost without exception they had not only heard about it, but had themselves been treated by one of these healers or knew of someone who had been to such a healer for help. In some of the informants' recollections, details and descriptions of the Wax Ceremony are given.[44]

As can be deducted from this overview of research in the field, piecemeal descriptions about the Wax Ceremony are available in a variety of sources. However, virtually none of the sources offers any analysis or interpretation of the ceremony proper, the healers, or the patients who frequent them.

C. Method

The bulk of the research for this study was gathered from informants and subsequently recorded either on videotape or audiotape. Many informants requested that their names not be disclosed. All informants will therefore be referred to by the initials of their first and last names (e.g., Mr. E. G.).

Interviews with informants have been numbered according to the order in which they were conducted, and correspond to the interview and tape numbers in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives in the Department of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of Alberta, where the original tapes are now housed. All interview tapes have been transcribed, and if conducted in Ukrainian, translated.

Primary, secondary and tertiary informants interviewed for the present study can be grouped as follows:

1) healers who are still practicing the Wax Ceremony (six primary informants). Two healers, Mrs. V.B. and Mrs. M.H., have since passed away.

2) one healer (primary informant) who no longer pours wax

3) patients who have actively sought the services of the aforementioned or other wax healers (twenty-one secondary informants)

4) relatives or acquaintances of these patients (three tertiary informants)

The informants ranged in age from twenty-four to ninety-three, and except for two informants, all were residents of Edmonton or East Central Alberta. One of the two non-Albertan informants was from Ukraine and the other was from the United States, having recently emigrated from Ukraine. Twenty-four of the informants were women, sixteen were men. All the informants were Ukrainian; nine of them were born in Ukraine. The economic and social status of the informants was varied and ranged from illiterate to filmmaker to graduate student.

Three of the informants refused to be interviewed on tape, and one informant tried to disguise her voice as she was interviewed and refused to provide any personal information about herself. In many instances, the overriding comment from informants was that this kind of personal information could be misinterpreted or laughed at by educated people, and in any case, such knowledge had no place in scholarly research. Despite such difficulties, forty interviews were conducted. Of these forty, thirty-one were taped. The nine remaining interviews are represented by those informants who would not agree to be taped, or who agreed to telephone or impromptu interviews which were not tape-recorded. Two such impromptu interviews were conducted at an annual Ukrainian festival in Vegreville, Alberta during the summer of 1986.

Appendix A is a list of questions used to conduct interviews with the healers. Appendix B is the list of questions used to conduct interviews with patients or with family or friends of patients.

Two practicing healers were videotaped while pouring wax. The central informant of this study, Mrs. V. B., was videotaped while performing the Wax Ceremony for her grandson in her daughter's home. The second informant, Mrs. D. M., was videotaped in her home using one of the secondary informants as her patient.

On several occasions, the researcher accompanied patients to three different rural healers and watched as an interested observer, without asking too many questions, in an

effort to observe the healers and the patients in a natural context rather than one that had been staged for the purposes of this study.

All recorded interviews were conducted in the homes of the informants, who had been advised in advance about the nature and purpose of the study. Upon mutual agreement, the informant was audiotaped or videotaped. Waiver Release Forms were signed by each informant. A sample of these forms is provided in Appendix C of this study.

Within the body of this study, foreign titles, nomenclature, and incantations have been translated and transliterated. In the case of titles, a translation is given only where the title first appears in a chapter. Incantations gathered from informants contain accents according to the pronunciation used by them. Both vocabulary which deals specifically with folk medicine, and unique syntax or vocabulary containing regional dialect have also been translated and transliterated. A glossary of thirty-three terms directly associated with the Wax Ceremony is provided at the end of this study.

All transliterations which appear in this work follow the standard Library of Congress transliteration system. In order to aid the reader, foreign terms in the text are italicized, with the exception of incantations and quotations. It was deemed better not to italicize these lengthy passages.

Four photographs and six tables are also included in this study. In Table 1, data are provided about the cross section of healer informants interviewed. For purposes of comparison, the age, sex, place of birth, the year the informant emigrated to Canada, and the informant's parents' place of birth are listed. Among other specifics, the number of years which the healers have practiced the Wax Ceremony, and the approximate number of patients who have frequented the respective healers during their healing legacy is also given (see pp. 68-69). In Table 2, the healing techniques and *materia medica* of the healers are given. The healing specifics regarding when, where, how, and with what tools the Wax Ceremony is practiced are given for each of the seven healers (see pp. 77-78). In Table 3,

the incorporation of Christian and pagan elements in the Wax Ceremony is given (see p. 126). Syncretic elements in healers' formulae are listed in Table 4 (see p. 128). In Table 5, the approximate age, sex, and profession of the informants who were not healers are given (see p. 131). In Table 6, Canadian adaptations are mapped, giving changes made to the Wax Ceremony by the healers in order to accommodate their patients (see p. 139).

Having laid the foundations of research and methodology in Chapter One, background material and a brief history of folk medicine will be given in Chapter Two. Specific components of folk medicine such as the power of the "Word" and the role of faith in healing are discussed in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four, faith and healing, pain transference, and divination are examined. Chapter Five, the focus of the study, consists of an exploration of the practice of the Wax Ceremony in Alberta. Conclusions are given in Chapter Six.

Notes

1. The first major wave of emigration from Ukraine to Alberta began after Ivan Pylypiw and Wasyl Eleniak, two fellow villagers from Western Ukraine, visited East Central Alberta in 1891.

2. P. CHubinskii, Trudy etnograficheskо-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskoe Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, 1872), pp. 42, 131.

3. There are several words which mean "fear" in conjunction with the Wax Ceremony. The most common is *strakh*, but *ostrakh*, *liak*, *pereliak*, and *perepolokh* are also used.

4. The female wax pourer and lay healer are referred to most frequently as *baba*, meaning old woman or grandmother. The diminutives *babka*, *babtsia* and *babunia* are also used. In Russian texts, the diminutive *babushka* is rendered. For more information on other appellations, see Chapter Five.

5. P. CHubinskii, op. cit.

6. Anon., Interview 23, p. 153; Mrs. H. B., Interview 25, p. 157; Mr. V. M., Interview 18, pp. 120, 121.

7. S. Podolins'kyi, "Zdorovie krestian na Ukraine" in Delo, 5 (1879), p. 186.

8. Metropolitan Ilarion, Dokhrystyians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu (Winnipeg: Volyn', 1981), p. 50.

9. IUrii Miroliubov, Russkii iazycheskii fol'klor: ocherki byta i nravov (Munich: Otto Sagner, 1982), p. 51.

10. Volodomyr SHukhevych, Hutsul'shchyna Vol. 5 (L'viv: Zahal'na Drukarnia, 1908), pp. 215, 219-221, 242-250.

11. P. Kemp, Healing Ritual: Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1935), p. 17.

12. Ibid., pp. 132-133, 135.

Beeswax, eggs, solder and lead as curative agents are also known in other cultures. In A Guide to Mexican Witchcraft (William Madsen, and Claudia Madsen; Mexico: Minutiae Mexican, 1972, pp. 28, 37), W. Madsen describes how a Mexican *currandero* exorcises cave air or evil spirits from a patient by rubbing him with an egg, which is then broken into a glass of water: the illness is diagnosed from the egg-white formations. In Buying the Wind: Regional Folklore in the United States (Richard Dorson; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, p. 325), R. Dorson describes how Illinois Egyptians use a woolen cloth which has been dipped in beeswax and other *medica* and applied to the thorax to cure respiratory infections. In Magic and Healing (C. J. S. Thompson; London: Rider and Company, 1946, p. 170), C. Thompson describes the medieval English belief in making an offering of a candle

to St. Blaise, a martyr associated with throat disorders, to alleviate the pain of a toothache.

13. IE. Onats'kyi, Ukrains'ka mala entsyklopediia (Buenos Aires: Champion, 1957), Vol. I, p. 179.

14. A. Afanasev, Poeticheskaia vozzreniia slavian na prirodu Vol. II (Mouton: Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 1970), pp. 192-194.

15. IU. Miroliubov, op. cit., pp. 159-160.

16. Tekla Dömötör, Hungarian Folk Beliefs (Budapest: Atheneum Printing House, 1982), mentions that among the Hungarians, lead is cast on New Year's Eve for fortune-telling, p. 204.

17. Levko Borovykovs'kyi, "Marusia" in Tvory (Kiev: Molod', 1971), p. 21.

18. Metropolitan Ilarion, op. cit., in "CHorna Rada," p. 200. Ilarion also lists author P. Kulish and the work "Eneida" by I. Kotliarevs'kyi as having references that directly relate to the Wax Ceremony.

19. A. Nechui-Viter, "Ne bulo zmalku--ne bude i dostanku" in Osnova, Vol. 6 (1861), pp. 23-24.

20. Tapes 7A, 7B, Ukrainian Folklore Archives, University of Alberta. This interview has not been transcribed because the information provided is beyond the scope of the present research.

21. Koozma Tarasoff, Traditional Doukhobor Folkways: An Ethnographic and Biographic Record of Prescribed Behavior (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1977), pp. 208-213.

22. The Doukhobors belong to a Russian sect which opposed the dogma of the Orthodox Church. The sect began in Russia in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and after persecutions for refusing military service, large numbers emigrated from Russia to Canada in 1899.

23. F. M. Mealing, Ph.D., "Doukhobor Healing Psalms: An Overview" Unpublished paper, p. 2.

24. Oskar Kolberg, Mazowsze, czesc VII (Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1968), p. 337.

25. _____, Chelmskie, czesc II (Wroclaw: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1964), p. 208.

26. "Liky moho sela" in Kievskaia Starina, Vol. 9 (1902), pp. 332-333.

27. V. Miloradovich, "Narodna meditsina v lubenskom uezde, poltavskoi gubernii" in Kievskaia Starina, (1900), pp. 386-393.

28. Z. Boltarovych, Narodne likuvannia ukraintsiv karpat kintsia XIX-pochatku XX stolittia (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1980), p. 29.

29. Ibid., p. 31.

30. Stanislawa Dabrowska, "Poszukiwania" in Wisla, Vol. 16 (1902), pp. 425-428.

31. Danil Lepkyi, "Pro narodni zabobony" in Zoria, Vols. 13-15 (1884), p. 123.

32. Robert Klymasz, Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition (New York: Arno Press, 1980), pp. 62-63.

33. Lena Gulutsan, Deedo's Children: A Story of John Hryhor of Nipawin Saskatchewan (Edmonton: Author, 1978), pp. 56-57.

34. Oleksander Koshets', Spohady, Vol. 1 (Winnipeg: Kul'tura i Osvita, 1947), p. 76.

35. Audrey Hrynchuk, Jean Klufas, eds., Memories: Redwater and District (Calgary: D. W. Friesen and Sons Ltd., 1972), pp. 60-61.

36. Myrna Kostash, All of Baba's Children (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1980), p. 58.

37. Harvey Spak, Tape 6A (not transcribed).

38. Marko Kropyvnyts'kyi, Vusy: Komediia u 4 diiakh (Kiev: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo KHudozhn'oi Literatury, 1959), p. 98.

39. Panas Myrnyi, Poviia (Kiev: Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo KHudozhn'oi Literatury, 1956), pp. 72-73.

40. A. Nechui-Viter, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

41. Ted Galay, After Baba's Funeral, Sweet and Sour Pickles: Two Plays by Ted Galay (Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 1981), p. 11.

42. Vera Lysenko, Yellow Boots (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1954), p. 18.

43. These reports are housed in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives in the Department of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of Alberta.

44. Klymasz's report was submitted as a research contract to the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, Historic Sites Services of Alberta Culture in 1986.

CHAPTER TWO

FOLK MEDICINE: AN OVERVIEW

A cursory investigation of the history and evolution of folk medicine is made in the following chapter. References to the Wax Ceremony are incorporated contextually. The discussion is typologized as follows:

A. The Evolution of Indigenous Folk Medicine

B. The Spirit Personified

C. The Compromise: The Effect of Christianity on Folk Medicine

A. The Evolution of Indigenous Folk Medicine

Folk medicine is an indigenous healing practiced by a given culture. The Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language describes folk medicine as being, ". . . of or pertaining to the folk . . . originated or widely used among the common people."[1] Folk medicine, also referred to as "rational medicine" or "herbal medicine" in some sources, reflects man's attempts to cure himself using plants and herbs available to him from the surrounding environment.

Folk medicine belongs to some of mankind's oldest knowledge. It evolved from a combination of practice and practicality: watching and living in harmony with nature. Each man was his own doctor. He used herbs or combinations of foodstuffs to cure himself and his family, and eventually, with the advent of animal husbandry, he also had to care for and cure his animals if they fell ill. He had to learn that some remedies would cure, and some would kill. Yet others had absolutely no effect either way.

For centuries, man extracted his medicine from nature and the habitat which surrounded him. Bark, for example, was among virtually countless natural substances that were used by people for curing. A Porits'kyi writes:

> Kora khinnoho dereva, skazhimo, iak naidiovishi liky proty maliarii, bula zdavna vidoma indiitsiam, a zhodom (za istorychnoi doby) ii zavezeno do IEvropy.[2]
>
> [Since the earliest times, Cinchona bark was used for malaria by Indians as a most effective medicine. With the advent of time, beginning with the Christian era, it was transported to Europe.]

Folklorist D. Yoder quotes another researcher's informant about the availability of natural pharmacopoeia:

> God almighty never put us here without a remedy for every ailment . . . . Out in the woods there's plants that will cure all kinds of sickness and all we got to do is hunt for 'em.[3]

In the evolution of indigenous folk medicine, herbs were first gathered and then, as cultures progressed, were later cultivated for planting. D. Yoder writes about women gathering and eventually planting herbs for use as remedies:

> Herbs that were thought to give them [women] special curative ability were gathered in woodland and field, in the fall or on certain days of the church year, and the women planted herb gardens that were used for medical much more than for culinary purposes. . . . A large part of this branch of folk medicine was herbal, its *materia medica* drawn from the plants of woodland and field.[4]

When contrasted with modern scientific medicine and pharmacology, folk medicine is often viewed as quackery or unorthodox in nature.[5] It should not be forgotten, however,

that scientific medicine as we know it today is not only chronologically recent compared to the centuries of healing that have preceded it, but its roots lie in lay healing.[6]

The first systematic or scientific medicine really commenced with Hippocrates circa 470-460 B.C. off the coast of Asia Minor. Hippocrates was the first medical practitioner to separate medicine, the "pure science," from medicine, the "philosophy," or the lore of the masses.[7] A new hierarchy of medicine was forming.

Before Hippocrates' time, man, the individual, would treat himself. If his remedy did not result in any improvement, a specialized member of his clan or society, a sage who wielded special powers, would be consulted. This was a foolproof system. If the Wise Man (or Woman) could not offer a relief or cure, then the patient was slated to die. Perhaps he had given a votive offering too late, and hence an incensed spirit or demigod would not grant a cure. Nevertheless, this was the patient's fate; he was simply incurable, his sacred disease was immedicable. Hippocrates' medicine, however, allowed supernatural and sacred diseases to be fit into a framework of demystified medicine: a medicine with cause and effect. In fact, Hippocrates made such an impact and contribution to modern medicine that his oath to medicine and mankind is still taken by medical students today.

B. The Spirit Personified

Over time, Hippocrates' scientific, rational medicine began to take hold. However, scientific medicine did not eradicate the folk medicine which existed before. This medicine was tightly interwoven with pagan worship and the spiritual world. No single system could simply uproot centuries of tradition and belief. If one considers the medicine of Hippocrates as scientific or indeed the root of scientific medicine, by deduction, the medicine that preceded it would be unscientific. However, as already mentioned, within the common knowledge of the folk was a *medica* which was often confirmed as having genuine medicinal properties. Thus, one system of medicine, dual in nature, was evolving.

Evidence of this dualism can be found in modern, scientific medicine today. Acupuncture is one such example. Practiced for centuries in Eastern cultures, it is slowly being incorporated into many Western "scientific" medical practices. It is also interesting to note that certain medical terminology that is still in existence in our language today attests to ancient pagan beliefs. The term "lunatic," for example, suggests the ancients' veneration of the moon, the planets, and the universe in general, and their belief that these celestial bodies played a role in healing.[8] Indeed, disease is much older than medicine itself.

According to L. Weatherhead, some 5000 years ago man believed that his health depended on his state of mind: " . . . men were healed of their diseases by non-physical methods directed towards their minds rather than their bodies. They sought to integrate the wholeness of personality."[9] Weatherhead also quotes Plato's Republic, which reinforces the importance of the mind, body and health:

> The cure of a part should not be attempted without the treatment of the whole, and . . . no attempt should be made to cure the body without the soul, and therefore if the head and body are to be well, you must begin by curing the mind . . .[10]

To effect the healing of the mind and body, folk medicine often drew upon magic and superstition inwoven into a magico-religious system of beliefs in pagan gods. Pagan gods and spirits provided man with an important and direct link to the natural and underworlds. Not every spirit was a god, though the gods themselves were spirits. In a system of gradation, the gods ruled over myriads of less powerful or less important spirits. Living at the mercy of nature, man could utter a formula or incantation to the pagan gods or make a votive offering to appease the spirits. In this way, nature became personified. While man lived at the mercy of nature, nature herself was anthropomorphisized; she in turn lived at the mercy of the gods and could be tamed by them. Hence, an indivisible unit of man, god, and spirit was formed.

Z. Boltarovych writes about the evolution of folk medicine from such a worldview:

> Likuval'na magiia iak haluz' narodnoi medytsyny vynykla u ti daleki chasy, koly liudyna buduchy nespromozhnoiu zrozumity zakony pryrody, bezsyla pered ii stykhiieiu, nadiliala neznani ii iavyshcha navkolyshn'oi diisnosti liuds'kymy rysamy, odukhotvoriala ikh, naseliala svit nadpryrodnymy istotamy, dukhamy.[11]
>
> [Curative Magic as a branch of folk medicine appeared in those ancient times when man, unable to understand the laws of nature and being helpless before the surrounding elements, personified and animated them and populated the world with supernatural beings and spirits.]

This worldview was not anthropocentric: that is, man was not at the centre of the universe nor was everything else in his world defined in terms of the human experience. Rather, the worldview was an unhierarchical one. Man attempted no delimitation between higher and lower life--between that which is organic or inorganic, human or non-human.[12]

The interrelationship of man, god, and the spirit world is attested to by one ancient folk medical phenomenon known as the Evil Eye. The Evil Eye is prevalent in most cultures and has existed for millennia. It is written about in the Bible, in the Apocrypha and in the Koran. Man could harm man and animal alike by casting a glance--an evil glance.[13] The glance was made evil by spirits who could be appeased by incantations, or warded off by wearing specialized amulets. Such talismans and amulets have been worn by man since paleolithic times.[14]

In a world in which god, spirit and man were interdependent, malady was thought to result from the displeasure of the gods and their spiritual world. Illness and disease were punishment for the disalignment of that world.[15] Man, by his own volition, could make offerings to ensure that he and his family or his chattels would not fall out of good favor with the gods. However, should misfortune strike, a person versed in the ways of the spirits might be sought to intone a prayer which was often kept secret. In this way, another

human being was made to be the intercessor between man and the gods. That person was a specialized member of the clan, a Wise Man or Woman, who was endowed with an especial rapport with the spiritual world, who could communicate with that world and pacify the spirits, thereby restoring health and equilibrium to the society.

When all members of a given society or clan are healthy, a harmony is established. Once, however, a member falls ill, the rhythm is disrupted. The person must be cared for, and sometimes his role in society must be temporarily assumed by other members so that the cycle of food production or caring for the young may remain intact. The folk healer can restore order by pacifying the necessary spirits and curing the individual. When the spirits are pacified, the state of disease or "dis-ease" is removed and harmony restored.

In his work The Healers' Art: The Doctor Through History, John Camp states that folk healers existed 30,000 years ago.[16] Barbara Myerhoff writes about the importance of such individuals to the restoration of health or normality within the clan. The folk healer:

> . . . as a connector is bridging the primordial past and the mythical past with historical time. He is at the same time mastering psychological transitions . . . . And in carrying out his cures, he accomplishes social equilibrium as well by establishing balance between the individual and his group, by reweaving the social texture that has been ruptured by illness and frequently by some violation of group norms that causes the sickened individual to be seen and treated as a deviant. . . . . As a connecting figure, he is at once the restorer of balance and the symbol of the possibility of balance. In his cosmic undertakings, his personal destiny mirrors his profession, and the microcosm and macrocosm are reunited by his activities.[17]

C. The Compromise: The Effect of Christianity on Folk Medicine

The folk healer serves as a bridge between magico-religious folk medicine and natural folk medicine. Simply defined, medicine which is "magico-religious" as mentioned earlier, is based on a syncretic system of belief. It is an interlacement of magic and religion,

both Christian and non-Christian. "Natural" medicine relies on herbs or plants rather than on a body of beliefs. Natural medicine and magico-religious medicine are woven together in folk medicine. In the world of natural medicine, a leaf might have the power to effect a cure. In the world of magical medicine, the same leaf might only be able to effect a cure if it is applied to a wound together with an accompanying prayer.

Magico-religious medicine also referred to as "occult," "witchcraft" medicine, or "irrational" folk medicine, requires the intercession of a healer-*savant* armed with charms or incantations which are often considered holy. The folk healer is very aware of the importance of the interplay between magical words and natural herbal remedies. He is wise not solely because of his knowledge of indigenous plants and herbs, but because he wields power: the power of the Word, the formulaic incantation. The magic contained within the utterance recited at the prescribed place and time by a folk healer in a predetermined manner can not only heal, but, in some instances, produce miracles.

While folk healers came to be revered by many members of their society, with the advent of Christianity, circumstances began to change. In attempts to banish people's links with paganism, churchmen, almost without exception, canvassed against wizards and witches and others who were believed to be engaged in black magic. Witch-hunting was paramount from the 14th to 17th centuries across most of Europe.

In Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers, Barbara Ehrenreich writes about the threat women healers, perceived to be witches, posed to the Church: "Witches represented a political, religious and sexual threat to the Protestant and Catholic churches alike, as well as to the state."[18] Ehrenreich goes on to state that thousands of executions, often by means of burning at the stake, were staged in Italy and other European countries. The crimes the victims were arraigned with often had to do with healing:

> . . . they are accused of having magical powers affecting health--of harming, but also of healing. They were often charged specifically with possessing medical and obstetrical skills.[19]

The pressure was on not only to ostracize but to efface all charlatans and their nostrums. The Church could not tolerate such heathenism.

No single force, in this case the Church, could simply obliterate centuries of pagan tradition *in toto*. As a result, a syncretic belief system began to emerge. Totally incompatible principles, one acknowledging an almighty God, the other recognizing numerous deities, began to coexist. In some instances, saints' names replaced those of various pagan deities. In The Songs of the Russian People, W. R. S. Ralston writes:

> When heathenism was dethroned by Christianity, those ancient adjurations were so far altered, that for the names of the elementary deities were substituted those of the Savior, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and various saints and martyrs.[20]

Some archaic incantations have even been incorporated into Christian prayers. W. Ralston writes that:

> . . . there are instances in which, while the archaic form of the *zagovor* [incantation] is preserved, its tone has become to all appearance thoroughly Christian; so that it has even found its way under the heading *Molitvyi* or prayers, into the church books called *trebniki* [sacramentary], both Russian and Serbian, of the 15th--17th centuries.[21]

Ralston gives an example of such a prayer:

> Forgive me, O Lord; forgive me, O Holy Mother of God; forgive me, O ye Angels, Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and all ye Heavenly Host! Forgive, O Sky; forgive, O damp-mother-earth; forgive, O Sun; forgive, O Moon; forgive, ye Stars; forgive, ye

> Lakes, ye Rivers and Hills; forgive, all ye Heavenly and Earthly Elements![22]

A. Afanasev, in Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian na prirodu [The Poetic World View of Nature by the Slavs], gives another example of an incantation which combines Christian and pagan elements. Here the conjurer intones a prayer against a snake bite:

> Zaklynaiu vas, hadiuky, imenem Gospoda nasheho Isusa KHrysta i sv. Georgiia i vsemi nebesnymi siliami . . .
>
> [I conjure you, snakes, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and St. George and all the heavenly forces . . .][23]

This overlap of Christian prayer and ritual incantation is also evident in Healing Ritual: Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs, where author P. Kemp writes, "The peasant seldom has a separate word for prayer--e.g., church prayers--and exorcism or healing formula."[24] It is evident, therefore, that the ingenious folk have evolved a symbiotic medical system whose mutualism not only allows for but respects an intricate balance of magical and scientific worldviews.

Notes

1. William Allan Neilson, ed., Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language, Second Edition (Springfield: G. & C. Meriam Co., 1961), p. 980.

2. A. Porits'kyi, "Vyvchaimo narodnu medytsynu" in Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia ["Let's Study Folk Medicine" in Folk Works and Ehnography], Vol. 4 (1965), p. 70.

3. Don Yoder, "Folk Medicine" in Folklore and Folklife, R. Dorson ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 198.

4. Ibid.

5. John Camp, The Healer's Art: The Doctor Through History (London: Frederick Muller Ltd., 1978), pp. 82-84. The author discusses the etymology of the word "quack," and offers a definition of the same.

6. A. Porits'kyi, op. cit., p. 70.

7. Leslie A. Weatherhead, Psychology, Religion and Healing (New York: Abingdon Press, 1952), p. 30.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., pp. 27-28.

10. Ibid., pp. 111-112.

11. Z. Boltarovych, Narodne likuvannia ukraintsiv karpat kintsia XIX - pochatku XX stolittia [Lay healing of the Carpathian Ukrainians at the end of XIX - beginning of the XX centuries] (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1980), p. 10.

12. V. Petrov, "The Spiritual Culture of the People" in Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedaedia, Vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 343.

13. For further discussion on the Evil Eye, see Interpreting Folklore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 94. Alan Dundes suggests that the Evil Eye is an ancient medicine which developed in India, the Near East and old world Europe, and that scholarship about the Evil Eye can be traced to classical antiquity.

14. Leslie Weatherhead, op. cit., p. 27.

15. Wayland D. Hand, Magical Medicine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 57-58.

16. John Camp, op. cit., p. 12.

17. Barbara G. Myerhoff, "Shamanic Equilibrium" in American Folk Medicine: A Symposium (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 100.

18. Barbara Ehrenreich, Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers (New York: The Feminist Press, 1973), pp. 5-6.

19. Ibid, p. 8.

20. W. R. S. Ralston, The Songs of the Russian People (London: Ellis and Green, 1872), p. 363.

21. Ibid., pp. 363-364.

22. Ibid., p. 365.

23. A. Afanasev, Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian na prirodu Vol. 1 (The Hague: Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 1970), p. 420.

24. P. Kemp, Healing Ritual: Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1935), p. 110.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WORD AND WATER: THEIR ROLE IN FOLK MEDICINE

The definition of medicine varies from culture to culture.[1] Any discussion of disease etiology, that is, the cause and origin of a disease, must be placed within its socio-cultural context. This context provides a medium of expression for the source of a person's illness. A unique or inherent illness often requires unique methods of diagnosis and treatment. Therefore, in order to best understand one another, both patient and doctor should belong to the same culture. The patient, in need of medicine, plays a role that is learned as part of the context of his culture. People's actions during illness are defined by the society in which they live.[2]

Disease ruptures the social fabric of a given culture. This disharmony upsets the delicate balance between health and sickness within the microcosm. The balance is restored when a healer demystifies the disease for the patient and effects a cure. Once cured, the patient is reincorporated into the harmonious cosmic wholeness of the microcosm.[3] Because he is the agent through which the patient's recovery is made possible, the healer is a mainstay of social order within a culture. The healer reintegrates his patients into health and normalcy, and thus restores the equilibrium of his society.

The term "medicine" has a much broader scope in meaning in folk medicine than it does in scientific medicine. The folk healer may call upon "medicine" for protection, to will luck, to calm evil spirits or procure love.[4] In modern Western society, we often do not subscribe to such definitions of medicine. In order to understand or accept other medical cultures, we must look beyond our own definitions of medicine. Erwin Ackernecht writes:

> Our experience stops at the frontiers of the natural. The most important part of the primitive's experience is on the other side of this frontier in his contact with the dead, the spirits, and mystic

> ancestors. What for us is a mere hallucination is for him a privileged experience.[5]

Although the methods employed by the folk healer may not provide a scientific explanation for disease causation or cure, this may be of little significance to the patient. Rather than relying on science, the patient may develop beliefs about the malady using cultural symbols which are significant to him.

Two symbols which are universal within the realm of folk medicine are "Water" and the "Word."

A. The Power of the Word

The puissance of the Word is very well-known not only in magico-religious folk medicine, but in other genres of folklore as well. In many folk cures, a healer alleviates or rids the patient of anxiety through prescibed ministrations and actions. The "Word"--the ministration, formula, or prayer used by the folk healer--wields power if not medicinal properties in the mind of the patient. The formula or incantation is the tool used by the healer to intercede between deity and patient. Boltarovych says that such incantations have taken on magical qualities in the mind of the folk.[6] They testify to man's age-old belief in the supernatural power of the Word.[7]

According to Bronislaw Malinowski, incantations have a formula which is comprised of three basic elements:

1) phonetic effect
2) invocation
3) mythological allusion.

Phonetic effect is an imitation of natural sounds such as the whistling of the wind or the roar of the sea. Malinowski says that because these sounds symbolize certain phenomena, they are believed to produce these phenomena magically. He also says that phonetic effects may express emotional states which are associated with the desire which is to be realized by the magic. For example, the healer may want the spirits which he is exorcising to howl like the wind or lash out like waves in a storm. The second element, invocation of an incantation, is a type of command. The healer intrepidly threatens the malady with destruction, using a command such as "I implore you to leave," or "I burn you as the sun burns." Mythological allusions, the third element, are intrinsic to almost every spell. According to Malinowski, these are references to ancestors or heroes which are expressed through various personae in the incantations.[8]

Most incantations are highly poetic in style. Sokolov writes that many of the incantations used in folk medicine have a rhythmic structure and rhyme.[9] Following is an excerpt from an incantation uttered by Mrs. V. B. during the Wax Ceremony.

Berúsia do (im'ia) holovy, do (im'ia) krovy, do (im'ia) usikh sustavók,
Vyzyváty, vyklykáty tsei strakh strakhovyi,
Opívnishnyi, polúdnishnyi,
Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody,
Náslanyi, záspanyi.
IE z lykhym chysóm vyzyváiu,
Vyklykáiu ne samá soboíu a Hóspodom
Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm i z Mátir Bózhov
I sestrytsi-zirnytsi,
IE vas 77 i odná,
Dopomaháite my khodyty, dopomaháite my robyty,
Pomozhít, (im'ia) tsei strakh zastanovyty.[10]

[I take to the head of (name), to the blood of (name),
to all the joints of (name),
To adjure, to summon this fear of fears,
From the North and from the South,
From want, from work, from food, from water,
Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.
With the evil hour I adjure you,
I summon you, not by my sole power, but by the power of the Lord
God Jesus Christ and with the Mother of God
And the sister-stars--
You number 77 and one.
Help me to walk, help me to work,
Help (name) to contain this fear.]

A definite rhythm is evident when the incantation is recited in Ukrainian. Two of three elements of typical incantations identified by Malinowski are also evident here. The fear which is being exorcised is "summoned" and "admonished." The Lord God Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, or the 77 and one stars might be considered mythological allusions.

All three of Malinowski's elements are present in the following incantation, cited by M. Dragomanov, to ward off a toothache:

Presviataia Bohorodytsia, prosym sobi v pomich.
Sviatyi otche Antoniiu, povrachuvav Hospodu-Bohu
Ot velykoi boleznosty, ot lomovoi kosty, ot semydesiat sustaviv,
Povrachui narozhdennomu, nakhreshchennomu (imrek),
Ot velykoi boleznosty, ot velykoi kosty, ot zuba.

SHCHuka v mori, mii bat'ko vo hrobi.
Ot sei pory, u narozhdennoho, u khreshchenoho (imrek)
Zuby ne bolitymut'. (Spliun' 3 raza).[11]

[Oh, Holy Mother of God, I ask your help.
Holy Saint Anthony, having healed the Lord God's
Great pain, broken bone, seventy joints,
Cure the born and baptized (name)
Of great pain, of the large bone, of the tooth.
A pike is in the sea, my father is in the grave.
From this time forward, the teeth of the born and baptized (name) shall not hurt. (Spit 3 times)].

The broken bone could be considered a phonetic effect. The invocation or command is reflected in the imperative "*povrachui* ," or heal. The Holy Mother of God and Holy Saint Anthony may be considered mythological allusions.

An example of a standard form found in Slavic incantations is given in Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk [Ethnographic Collections]. The author says that all Slavic incantations are similar to this form:

IA tebe vizyvaiu, ia tebe viklykuiu!
Idy sobi v more!
Tam v pisku sobi hrai,
Kolachi sobi idzh,
Vyno sobi pyi!
Tu ne maiesh sobi dila
Do biloho tila, do rumianoho lytsia,

ZHovtoi kosty skydaty-lupaty,

Span'a vidbyraty, idy vidoimaty, vik korotaty![12]

[I summon you, I invoke you!

Go to the sea!

There you may play in the sand,

You may eat *kolachi* ,[13]

You may drink wine!

You have no business

As to a white body, to a rosy face,

To strip and rip at a yellow bone,

To take sleep away, to take nourishment away, to shorten a lifetime!]

The example cited above displays the poetic style and rhythmic structure typical of Slavic incantations. Another feature commonly found in these incantations is repetition. The healer may repeat either the entire formula or certain sections of the formula. This repetitive feature makes memorization of lengthy or complex incantations much easier. Recurring repetitions are sometimes conducted in multiples of the magical number three. For example, Mrs. V. B. repeats her basic Wax Ceremony incantation three times. The first time, she utters her formula above the head. The second time, she utters it in front of the patient's chest, substituting the word "chest" for "head" and adjusting accompanying adjectives to suit this location. Her third repetition is done at the back of the head. Again, appropriate substitutions are made.

The influences of Christianity are evident in many incantations. God, Jesus Christ, Mother Mary or Saints are often called upon to intercede in the healing. The syncretic nature of these incantations is fascinating. Heathen deities are often superseded by saints or angels, or heathen and Christian deities are paralleled in the incantation.

The incantation is indeed a powerful tool for healing. In the case of the Wax Ceremony, the incantation, though often kept secret and uttered inaudibly, is an integral part of the healing process. In the minds of many patients and healers interviewed in conjunction with this study, the Wax Ceremony simply would be rendered inefficacious without an accompanying incantation.

B. The Importance of Water

Water is an ancient symbol. As with the Word, it often takes on magical qualities. For centuries it has been used as an agent in healing. The nineteenth century ethnographer W. R. S. Ralston writes that disease is driven away "by purification with fire and water, and so the popular practice of physics is founded on a theory of fumigations, washings, and sprinklings attended by exorcisms of various kinds."[14]

Boltarovych writes that water takes on magical and medicinal qualities because it washes or cleanses. By deduction, water can wash away sickness or evil. This is evident in the following incantation:

> Vodychko-Iordanychko,
> Umyvaiesh luhy-berehy, korinnia, bile kaminnia,
> Umyi seho rshchenoho, chysto vrodzhenoho,
> Vid ubrodu, hnivu, nenavysti i vid usiakoho zloho.[15]
>
> [Oh water of the Jordan,
> You wash the meadows and the banks, the roots, the white rock,
> Cleanse this baptized, blamelessly born one
> From excesses, sin, hatred, and from all evil.]

Mrs. V. B., the key informant for this study, uses a similar formula when she adjures the water to cleanse her patient:

TSe vodá Iordána, do vs'óho prydána,
Myie luhy-berehy.
Umyi vid tsého strakhú, vid tsého zhekhú,
Vid tsei slábosty, vid tsei nenávysty, vid tsykh nérviv.

[This is water of the Jordan: in everything it has use,
It washes the meadows and the shores.
Cleanse from this fear, from this horror,
From this sickness, from this hatred, from these nerves.]

Water as a source of cleansing or purification is also reflected in various Slavic customs and calendrical celebrations. Dew that is collected during the morning of the Feast of St. George (23 April OS, 6 May NS), is considered to have medicinal properties. O. Voropai explains that people would gather dew before the sun rose on this feast day. Those who had fallen ill would wash their eyes with the magical dew; adults would wash their heads to prevent headaches; and young maidens would wet themselves with the dew so they would be beautiful.[16] Similarly, water is believed to acquire healing and magical properties during the eve of the Rite of Kupalo (St. John the Baptist; 24 June OS, 7 July NS). Water drunk on the Eve of Kupalo is believed to be especially powerful.[17]

In Ukrainian folklore, water is often classified as *mertva voda* [lifeless water] and *zhyva voda* [living water]. *Mertva voda* is water that has gathered into a source-- a pond or a well, for example. Logically, *zhyva voda* is running water such as that taken from a stream or river. Ralston cites examples of *mertva voda* and *zhyva voda* and how they are different in their applications:

> But they [Slavonic tales] differ from most of the similar stories in this respect. They have two species of what is called the "strong" or the "heroic" water. The one is called "the dead water"[*mertvaya voda*]; the other the "living [or vivifying] water" [*zhivaya voda*]. When the "dead water" is applied to the wounds of a corpse it heals them, but before the dead body can be brought to life, it is necessary to sprinkle it with the "living water."[18]

In Macedonian folklore, water is used in a sympathetic rite to cleanse the path of a guest.

> A jug of water is emptied upon the ground after a departing guest, that he may speed well on his journey. "As the water's course is smooth and easy so may the traveller's path be."[19]

Conversely, in Ukrainian folklore, water, particularly if it has been used to affect a cure, is poured onto the ground well away from paths where people might travel. If a human foot should pass over the area where the water has touched, the illness or malcontent would automatically be transferred.[20]

In many instances, as in the case of the Wax Ceremony, the healer chooses to add holy water to regular drawn water. For example, Mrs. V. B. adds a few drops of holy water to her healing water. She gets the holy water from her church, and she is always careful to get a plentiful supply for her healing. A comparable practice is noted in "Kul't vody ta ioho znachennia v zhytti liudyny" ["The Cult of Water and its Meaning in the Life of Man"], where SHumovsky says that priests pray for water, thereby reinforcing its medicinal properties. He says the priests pray as follows:

> SHCHob vody nas ozdorovliuvaly. Vody spravdi tsiliushchi, vody ochyshchaiut', stsiliuiut' vid usikh neduhiv . . .[21]
>
> [So that these waters may heal us. Waters that are truly medicinal, waters which cleanse, and heal us from all diseases.]

The power of water is well-documented by Ukrainian ethnographers. In writing about folk medicine in Volyn', Rovno *povit* [county], in the village of Kniaz', Domanyts'kyi says that water is either given the patient to drink directly, or poured over the afflicted area. Water, he says, is considered the best medicine in this area of Ukraine.[22] In the KHarkiv region, water is so revered as a symbol of good health and healing that no one is allowed to spit in it.[23] Vovk writes that neither spitting nor defecating in water are permitted.[24] Rainwater is also believed to have special curative powers.[25] Metropolitan Ilarion says that rainwater is highly regarded and thus it is personified. He says the form for "it is raining" in Ukrainian is "*doshch ide* "--"the rain is going," rather than just falling out of the sky.[26]

In Slavic folk medicine, divination using water is used both in forecasting the future and as a diagnosis of illness. Hydromancy is commonly practiced by Slavic folk healers in an attempt to peer into the future. Among the Macedonians, water and molten lead are used. An incantation is uttered while hot molten lead is dropped into the water. The congealed forms are then interpreted and the future is told. Abbott says that a similar practice is performed in Russia on Christmas Eve. He says that in lieu of eggs or lead, molten wax is used.[27]

Water and the Word are universal to folk medicine and are intrinsic components of the Wax Ceremony.

Notes

1. Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979), p. 226.

2. E. Blum, The Management of the Doctor-Patient Relationship (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), pp. 29-30.

3. Paul Tillich, "The Relation of Religion and Health: Historical Considerations and Theoretical Questions" in Review of Religion, Vol. 10 (1946), pp. 354-355.

4. "Some Beliefs About Traditional Medicines and Remedies" in South African Digest (1987), p. 31. A discussion about the broad interpretation of medicine within black African culture is given.

5. Erwin Ackernecht, "Problems of Primitive Medicine" in Bulletin of the History of Medicine, Vol. 2 (1942), p. 506.

6. Z. Boltarovych, Narodne likuvannia ukraintsiv karpat kintsia XIX-pochatku XX stolittia (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1980), p. 95.

7. Alex Alexander, Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English Translation (Belmont: Nordland Pub. Co., 1975), p. 113.

8. Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays (New York: Doubleday, 1954), pp. 73-74.

9. Y. Sokolov, Russian Folklore (New York: Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 244.

10. A complete listing of Mrs. V. B.'s incantations can be found in Chapter Five, pp. 87-100 of this study.

11. M. Dragomanov, Malorusskiia narodnyia predaniia i razskazy (Kiev: Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, 1876), p. 29.

12. Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk, Vol. 5 (1895), p. 69.

13. A *kolach/kalach* is a ritual braided bread which is eaten at Christmas or at funeral meals.

14. W.R.S. Ralston, The Songs of the Russian People (London: Ellis & Green, 1872), pp. 379-380.

15. Z. Boltarovych, op. cit., p. 99.

16. O. Voropai, Zvychai nashoho narodu Vol. 2 (Munich: Ukrains'ke Vydavnytstvo, 1966), p. 69.

17. Z. Boltarovych, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

18. W.R.S. Ralston, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

19. G. Abbott, Macedonian Folklore (Cambridge: University Press, 1903), p. 122.

20. Z. Boltarovych, op. cit., p. 106.

21. P. SHumovsky, "Kul't vody ta ioho znachennia v zhytti liudyny" in Vira i Kul'tura, No. 9, pp. 19-21.

22. V. Domanyts'kyi, "Narodnia medytsyna u rovens'komu poviti na Volyni" in Materiialy do ukrainsk'skoi etnolohii, (Vol. 6, 1905), p. 100.

23. P. CHubinskii, comp. Trudy etnograficheskо-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai, Vol. 1 (St. Petersburg: Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obshchestvo, 1872), p. 42.

24. KH. Vovk, Studii z ukrains'koi etnohrafii ta antropolohii (New York: Howerla, 1976), p. 171.

25. A. Afanasev, Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian na prirodu (The Hague: Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, 1970), p. 364.

26. Met. Ilarion, Dokhrystyians'ki viruvannia ukrains'koho narodu (Winnipeg: Volyn', 1981), pp. 40-43.

27. G. Abbott, op. cit, p. 52.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF FAITH IN HEALING

The Wax Ceremony, like other folk medicines, relies heavily on the faith of the patient. The more the patient believes in the power of the healer and his ability to cure, the more likely the patient's experience will be a curative one. In this chapter, the role of faith in healing will be discussed. Pain transference or the transference of an illness will also be discussed within the context of this faith.

A. Faith and Healing

As discussed in Chapter Two, a hierarchy of healing has been developing in societies for thousands of years. When man could not cure himself he turned to a higher power: to healer, magician, or sage. The sage, possessing a magical incantation, a nostrum, or special herbs, would perform a ritual healing apropos the ailment. Magic was wrought not only via the prescribed incantation, but by the precise combination of magic, religion, and the sage's wisdom. Thus, a strong social interdependence was established between the patient and his healer. The patient depended on the healer for a cure; the healer in turn depended on his success and the faith of one patient to bring him other patients. The higher the success rate of the healer, the better known and more valued he became within the society. As more patients sought the services of their healer, his reputation burgeoned. Patients' stories about healings and miracles brought *éclat* from the community. The credence of the healer grew, and more people believed in his powers.

As a healer develops a following, the clientele's faith is strengthened because it is shared by a group or cluster of believers. L. Honko addresses the issue of collective faith.

> [The Healer] is not content only to activate the faith of the patient, but also instills in the whole group a certain conviction of the success of his treatment, awakens the collective faith and promotes the integration of the group. The system of social values as a whole supports his activities, the myths, the religious dogmas, the group feeling of solidarity and the patterns of role-behaviour.[1]

For a healer to be effective, it is essential that he believes in himself and what he is doing, though *suggestio falsi* is not absent in the practices of many lay healers. In Health and Healing in Rural Greece, the role of faith in the healer-patient relationship is discussed:

> . . . One psychological activity that underlies a physician's reliance on the power of the patient's faith is magical thinking. Those who believe in magic assume that an event may be brought about by wishing it. If a physician believes that the patient's wishes are powerful, and if the physician thinks of himself as capable of directing that "power" within the patient so that a cure is effected, then the physician is being a magician.[2]

In "CHary v suchasnii medytsyni" ["Spells in Contemporary Medicine"], the anonymous author writes that the healer is able to influence the belief his patients have in him by mannerisms and by what he says to his patients.[3] If the healer is confident, his patients will be confident in his abilities to heal.

The patient must believe in the healer. He must believe in the formula or incantation which the healer uses. He must believe in the *medica* which the healer uses. He must come in total faith and surrender himself completely to his doctor: only then will he be cured.

B. Pain and Illness Transference

In the minds of the folk, it is possible to transfer illness to other people or to animals. However, transference of illness is not confined to animate objects. An inanimate object may be strategically placed so that a passerby may contact or touch it and thereby

assume the illness. In the Wax Ceremony, for example, through the intercession of the healer, who uses a prescribed incantation and molten wax, the illness is exorcised from the patient and transferred to the water.[4]

It is also possible to transfer illness to another person without an inanimate contagion, i.e., without an intermediary. This is often done by throwing or casting the Evil Eye. The concept of the Evil Eye is very complex. A myriad of maladies from sleeplessness to bed-wetting can be attributed to it. Across various primitive societies, it seems that young children, women, and expectant mothers are the most vulnerable to the Evil Eye. Among Ukrainians in Alberta, the Wax Ceremony is a culturally significant way of ridding the Evil Eye, which is still feared by many Ukrainians, especially of the older generation.

C. Divination

To "divine" means to foresee or predict. Divination is a discovery, a decoding of the unknown by supernatural intermediaries and a lay healer. In the Wax Ceremony, as with many other folk medicines, the intermediary is often God--the Divine Being. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that God, the "divine" in the Christian's interpretation, and the "divination" of lay healers or magicians comes from the same root word. In a syncretic assumptive world there is room for both "God the Almighty" and "gods."

Divination can be described as a type of rite of passage: it is sympathetic magic. The illness or evil spirit passes from the body of the patient to some inanimate object. Once the malady is expelled, the patient, now liberated, passes from a state where evil was prevalent to a good, harmonious state: from "dis-ease" to ease. The patient is free from the malady--he is cleansed.

Divination to cure illness is one of the oldest forms of medicine known to man.[5] As discussed in Chapters One and Three, wax, eggs, lead, and water are commonly used

both in divination and to forecast the future. However, in the Slavic world, especially among the South Slavs, other items such as flour or beans are used.[6]

P. Kemp writes about the power of divination and about its diagnostic function:

> Diagnosis can effect a cure: it is part of and sometimes the whole of a treatment. All therapeutic rites include an act of identification, and generally an intention to define and to diagnose, but sometimes it is this that seems to be the main content, and to be more significant than the initial purpose of directing will by identifying the subject concerned. This is clear in methods of water divining with lead or wax or hot coals, etc.[7]

The divinatory process is the focus of the Wax Ceremony. The accompanying incantations, tools such as knives or bowls, and *materia medica* are centered around the divining--the process that affords the healer a glimpse into the soul, spirit and body of the patient. The goals are a prognosis and resultant cure. More often than not, a divination carried out will effect a cure. A patient senses relief from his affliction even before a diagnosis is given. Perhaps this is because so much power is attributed to the divination itself. The patient submits himself to an impressive display of praying, blowing, fumigating and casting of molten lead or wax by someone who holds the key to his relief, happiness, and peace. Faith in the power of these machinations alone can be equated with successful healing.

Notes

1. L. Honko, "On the Effectivity of Folk-Medicine" in Papers on Folk-Medicine (Stockholm: The Nordic Museum, 1963), pp. 352-354.

2. R. and E. Blum, Health and Healings in Rural Greece (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965), p. 142.

3. "CHary v suchasnii medytsyni" in Kalendar-Al'manakh Novoho SHliakhu (1961), p. 129.

4. Some Wax Ceremony healers discard the water after the patient leaves, while others give it to the patient to take home and bathe in or drink. It is not clear from those informants interviewed for this study why they would drink or be instructed by the healers to bathe in water which contained their illness.

5. P. Kemp, Healing Ritual: Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1935), pp. 184.

6. Ibid., pp. 55,131.

7. Ibid., pp. 129-130.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WAX CEREMONY

A. Fear-Sickness

Lay patients and healers hold a particular worldview. Theirs is a cosmos where the belief system not only allows for but demands a medicine which is often beyond the confines of our understanding or acceptance. As discussed in Chapters Two, Three, and Four, sycretism, translocation of disease, and hydropathy are universal to folk medicine. In this chapter, these elements will be considered in terms of the Wax Ceremony. Primary sources--that is, interviews conducted with local patients and practicing healers--are the main source for the following discussion.

Although the Wax Ceremony is said to cure many different maladies, it is most commonly used as a cure for fear. In the Ukrainian's assumptive world, untreated fear is thought to manifest itself in emotional and mental illnesses. While the informants interviewed for this study believed emotional sickness to be the most common problem resulting from untreated fear, they also said that physical problems such as weak kidneys (resulting in bed-wetting among children), speech impediments (such as stuttering), the shakes, and epilepsy were also caused by fear-sickness. The informants identified general unhappiness or having an overall bad feeling as other signs of fear. The leitmotiv throughout the various symptoms, however, was fear and the resultant sickness.

A myriad of illnesses and problems wrought by fear-sickness were considered curable by the Wax Ceremony:

1. Mr. E. B. claimed that the Wax Ceremony provides relief to people who suffer from bad nightmares. He also said bed-wetting could be arrested by the Wax Ceremony.[1]

2. Mrs. V. J. found that once her grandmother poured wax for her, her incessant crying stopped.[2]

3. Mrs. H. K. said her mother poured wax for her after she had a heart attack because she believed the attack had been brought about by fear.[3] Her mother had also poured wax in an effort to help her with her high blood pressure.[4]

4. Mr. V. M. found that the Wax Ceremony helped him with sleepwalking and talking in his sleep.[5]

5. Mrs. O. H. said that her brother was cured of epilepsy by a woman who poured wax.[6]

6. An acquaintance of Mrs. H. B. had a son whose memory began slipping, and consequently, the Wax Ceremony was performed. Soon after, contrary to the prognosis given by professional medical doctors, the boy recovered his memory.[7] Mrs. H. B.'s own son had a problem with the hiccups which were the result of being frightened by a turkey on the farm. He was taken to a woman to have wax poured because his condition kept getting worse. When he got to the healer, she told him that pouring the wax would help him to talk nicely and to study well in school.[8]

7. Mrs. H. B. sought the services of a wax pourer for excessive stomach gas which she had due to bad nerves.[9]

8. Mrs. S. K. poured wax for people who were so nervous they could not study or concentrate. They had also lost their appetites and could not sleep.[10] She also poured wax to calm restlessness.[11] According to Mrs. S. K., an inability to comprehend and general crankiness were also treatable by the Wax Ceremony.[12]

9. Mrs. V. B. said that if fear-sickness really affected people, it was possible that they would start to froth at the mouth. Her version of the Wax Ceremony helped with such a problem.[13]

10. Mrs. S. N. said that when she got a tight feeling in her chest and her head hurt because of car sickness, the Wax Ceremony really helped clear up the problem.[14]

11. Mrs. S. B. recalled a miracle that her mother-in-law performed on a young baby who had been frightened and as a result grew a large red birthmark on his back. The birthmark began to recede after successive wax pourings.[15]

12. Mrs. J. T. said that she poured wax for people on crutches, and that after a few sessions with her, they were walking again without them. She

said wax pouring would help if people's nerves were bad or if they had marriage problems. She said it also worked to counteract the effects of witchcraft.[16]

13. Mrs. D. M. said that the Wax Ceremony would aid in alleviating sickness caused by the Evil Eye.[17] She also claimed headaches could be treated with the Wax Ceremony.[18]

To reiterate, these informants claimed that in dealing with fear-sickness, the Wax Ceremony was able to cure twenty-five symptom-specific illnesses: sleepwalking, nightmares, talking in one's sleep, insomnia, restlessness, bed-wetting, incessant crying, heart attacks, high blood pressure, epilepsy, failing memory, hiccups, poor study habits, lack of concentration, stomach gas, poor comprehension, crankiness, frothing at the mouth, car sickness, headaches, and birthmarks. Some also believed that supernatural phenomena such as witchcraft and the Evil Eye could be counteracted by the Wax Ceremony.

The informants agreed that fear-sickness becomes more threatening if it is not dealt with immediately. Mrs. K. W. always keeps a supply of holy water on hand. She administers it to her grandson just as soon as he becomes frightened by something. She takes his fear *au grand sérieux* and gives him the water so that the fear does not settle in during the night--"*aby ne zaspalo.*"[19]

The informants also believed that once a patient is repeatedly allowed to sleep with his fears, the sickness is compounded. The term used by the informants to express this phenomenon of "compounded fear" was *strakh zadavnynyi*, that is, fear that has been left alone to settle in over a long period of time. Although it is possible to cure this type of fear-sickness, informants believed it would often take more than one wax pouring to accomplish the task.[20]

While the Wax Ceremony is the most popular remedy in the treatment of fear-sickness, other methods are also used. One well-known method is fumigating the patient. If the source of the affliction is known, the hair, feathers, fur, or clothing of the culprit is

taken or stolen and set on fire, and then the patient is asked to inhale the smoke. Unlike the Wax Ceremony, this method of healing apparently does not require a special sage. It appears that anyone except for the patient himself is able to perform this ritual.

Informants provided the following examples of fumigation used to cure fear-sickness. Mrs. H. B. said that she has made her son inhale smoke from turkey feathers which she set on fire because her son had been frightened by the bird. She also explained that a woman she knows took some fur off a cat which had frightened a child, and then fumigated the child with the burning fur. If a human has frightened someone, Mrs. H. B. said it was necessary to get some of the offending person's hair and burn it.[21] Mr. B. B. described how his wife burned some cow hair from the cow that had frightened their son in order to rid him of fear.[22] When Mrs. D. M. was asked whether such fumigations or the Wax Ceremony proved more successful in expelling fear from the body, she replied that both were equally useful.[23]

Another remedy which is known to expel fear--particularly fear which has been caused by the Evil Eye--is to wash the face of the patient with urine. R. Klymasz writes, ". . . Washing oneself in one's own urine . . . can usually put an end to suffering caused by the 'evil eye'."[24] This belief was corroborated by several informants interviewed for this study. Mr. R. B. claimed that if one of his sons became afflicted with the Evil Eye, he or his wife would wipe the child's face with a wet diaper. He said this helped to "wipe him into a relaxed state."[25] Mrs. H. B. said that she washed her son with her own urine after the child had the Evil Eye cast upon him. She said she washed the entire child, paying particular attention to the heart area of the chest because this is the area most vulnerable to the Evil Eye.[26]

As previously discussed, the main tenet of the Wax Ceremony is to dispose of fear by pouring. The water is poured, the wax is poured, the fear is poured. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Ukrainian term "to pour wax" when referring to the Wax Ceremony is *visk zlyvaty* or *visk vylyvaty*. Interestingly enough, the verb *zlyvaty* is also used i

conjunction with other types of Ukrainian folk medicine. In writing about the superstitions that the common folk hold, D. Lepkyi writes that coals may be cast on water as a cure for the Evil Eye. He refers to this healing as "*uhlechko zliaty* "--a coal is "poured out."[27] In treating whitlow [*volos'*], water is specially prepared and poured over the afflicted area. This folk medicine is referred to as *vylyvaty volos* ' [to pour out whitlow].[28]

B. A Documentation of Seven Healers

For the purposes of this study, seven wax healers were interviewed and/or observed while pouring wax.[29] Six of these healers were all practicing their medicine in 1986.[30] Each healer's method and tools were unique, yet there were many similarities common to all of them.

Following is a description of the general procedure that was carried out by each of the seven healers while performing the Wax Ceremony.

a) Patient was asked to be seated

b) A bowl was filled with cold tap water

c) Molten wax was kept hot on a stove or heat source

d) The healer asked the patient for his/her symptoms

e) An oral formula or incantation was uttered

f) The wax was poured into the water over the head of the patient

g) While the wax was congealing, more discussion with the patient took place

h) The wax was flipped over and the figures "read" or "interpreted" for the patient

i) The patient unnoticeably left a gift or sum of money for the healer

j) The patient made another appointment and/or left

Following are detailed descriptions of wax pouring methods of each of the seven healers. Mrs. V. B., the healer central to this study, is discussed last.

a) Mr. P.G.

i) Background

When Ms. D. N., the informant selected as a patient to accompany the researcher arrived for the previously agreed upon appointment with Mr. P. G., we sat and waited in the kitchen. There were two other people in this makeshift waiting room where a small coffee table and some magazines were placed. Mrs. P. G. went about the kitchen chatting with us, all the while boiling chicken soup. The phone rang several times during our wait. Mrs. P. G. made appointments for the patients who were calling by marking their names on a calendar which hung on the wall. Throughout the house, dozens of Roman Catholic statuettes and Byzantine icons were displayed. Newspapers were strewn about the kitchen floor in order to protect it from soiled footwear and the constant traffic of patients. The actual healing was done in two other rooms of the house. In one small room which contained a bed covered in white sheets, Mr. P. G. set bones and did massages. Across the hall, in another room, he poured wax and performed fumigations.

ii) Healing

The procedure Mr. P. G. followed in his healing of the patient, Ms. D. N., was consistent with the steps outlined previously in this chapter. (See p. 52) One variation was that a small amount of salt and holy water were thrown into the bowl of water. Both patient and healer faced east throughout the proceedings. Mr. P. G. asked the patient what her symptoms were before he proceeded to pour the wax.

All three times that Mr. P. G. poured wax, he did so from behind the patient, holding a bowl over her head. Before pouring, Mr. P. G crossed himself three times. For the first pouring, he held a dull butter knife and an enamel bowl in his right hand. He added a hair comb to his right hand for the second pouring. At the third pouring, he added a stone. Mr. P. G. did not read or interpret the wax figures. Before each pouring, he recited an inaudible incantation. The patient, Ms. D. N., stated that she was sure he had been praying in English.

After the pouring, Mr. P. G. made the sign of the cross across the top of the head of the patient and down the entire length of her hair. He pressed his hands firmly to the temples of the patient immediately after the sign of the cross was made. He then washed the back of the patient's neck and her cheeks, and then, one at a time, immersed and washed her hands in the water.

After the washing, Mr. P. G. took a metal cup which had a candle-like protrusion and church incense in it, and proceeded to fumigate the patient in a counterclockwise direction--beginning at the head and walking around the chair on which Ms. D. N. was seated. Upon completing the fumigation, the healer told Ms. D. N. not to lend or borrow anything for the next three days. He cautioned her, saying that if she did, the Wax Ceremony would be rendered ineffectual. Mr. P. G. then said that his fee was ten dollars, which Ms. D. N. left on a table. He did not pick up the money in our presence. As we were leaving, he repeated several times that the patient would feel better and that she was not to worry anymore. Mr. P. G. appeared hurried throughout the pouring. When we left, there were other patients waiting to see him.

b) Mrs. J. T.

Of the seven healers, Mrs. J. T. had the loosest definition of what the Wax Ceremony could or could not cure, and her style of pouring incorporated several unique

practices. Mrs. J. T. used the Wax Ceremony for fortune-telling as well as for the healing of fear-sickness.

i) Background

Mrs. J. T. poured wax in her kitchen, in the middle of the room. She kept her tools on a small table in the same room. On the day of our visit, Mrs. J. T. greeted the researcher and the patient (Ms. D. N.) warmly, and served coffee and sweets. After talking with the patient for about an hour, and ascertaining that the patient was troubled by nervous tension, she busied herself melting wax and preparing her tools for the pouring. She spent another half hour just relaxing and talking to Ms. D. N. after she had performed the Wax Ceremony.

ii) Healing

Having arrived on a Saturday before noon as requested, the patient was asked to sit facing west while the healer faced east. The Wax Ceremony began after a discussion between the patient and the healer. After the healer crossed herself three times, she uttered an inaudible incantation[31] over the head of Ms. D. N. while holding a plastic bowl of water into which some holy water had been sprinkled. Mrs. J. T. also held a blunt-edged knife in her right hand as she worked. Just before the wax was poured, Mrs. J. T. asked Ms. D. N. to make a wish.

Once the wax had been poured and congealed, Mrs. J. T. proceeded to read both sides of the wax. In addition to diagnosing what the source of Ms. D. N.'s nervous tension was, Mrs. J. T. also did some fortune-telling and some palm reading. She spent a good deal of time talking to the patient about the absence of a mate in the patient's life. As she

was reading the wax, she reassured Ms. D. N. many times that troubling issues in her life would be resolved and that things would work out.

Upon completion of the treatment, a square, white facecloth was meticulously folded into a smaller, perfect square by pulling all four corners of the cloth in towards the centre. In a counterclockwise direction, Mrs. J. T. washed the face and hands of the patient.

Immediately after the washing, the patient was asked to sip the water. The remainder of the water was poured into an empty jar from mayonnaise and given to the patient to take home. The patient was instructed to use this water to wash her face and hands for three consecutive nights before retiring. On the first and second evenings, a cloth folded like the facecloth had been at the healing was to be used. The washing was to be preceded by the making of a wish. Ms. D. N. was instructed to do the washing on the first two evenings using an inward motion [*do sebe*]. On the third evening, a wish to get rid of something was to be made while washing with an outward motion [*vid sebe*]. Any excess water was to be disposed of immediately by throwing it away from the body under a tree or somewhere where it was impossible for a human to walk.

No fee was mentioned by Mrs. J. T. When the patient left ten dollars behind, she was reassured that half of the money would be donated to the local Ukrainian church. Mrs. J. T. did not pick up the money in the presence of the patient or researcher.

c) Mrs. S. K.

i) Background

After contacting Mrs. S. K. on several occasions, the researcher was invited into her house to discuss the Wax Ceremony. However, Mrs. S. K. would not agree to be

watched while treating an actual patient. She said that it would not be proper for her to be observed in action.

Mrs. S. K. is a devout Catholic, and had several crosses, icons and holy books about her house. She told the researcher that she performed the Wax Ceremony in the comfort of her own home--either in her living room, or in her kitchen.

ii) Healing

Mrs. S. K. preferred to pour wax on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays: she had been told by her mother that the days in the middle of the week were better for pouring. If possible, she poured before noon. She said that the patient was not as tired in the morning and thus could concentrate better.

Mrs. S. K. said that when she performed the Wax Ceremony, the patient sat opposite her. No preference of direction was indicated. Mrs. S. K. said she began the Wax Ceremony by crossing herself three times, and then making the sign of the cross over the water with her fingers. The patient was asked to look into the water, and Mrs. S. K. then proceeded to lift the bowl over the patient's head and to pour molten beeswax into the water. She also said that she recited the Lord's Prayer before the patient arrived.[32] She said that while the wax was hardening, she talked to her patients.

Mrs. S. K. said that on a per visit basis, she spent about half an hour with her patient. If a patient wanted to know what the wax had revealed, she would show him and would discuss it with him. Otherwise, she did not interpret the figures.

Mrs. S. K. said that after a healing session, she might choose to serve refreshments. She said she always emptied the water that had been used during the session onto a plant or somewhere where people could not walk: she never disposed of the water simply by throwing it into the sink lest a human come in contact with the diseased water. Mrs. S. K. did not normally accept money or gifts in return for her services, but on one

occasion she had accepted a gift from a cousin because she felt it would make him feel better if she accepted it.[33]

d) Mrs. K. W.

Mrs. K. W. claimed to have performed the Wax Ceremony only a few times in her life. Like Mrs. S. K., she too thought it better not to have the researcher observe her in action, but spoke very openly about her healing. This healer only performed the Wax Ceremony for her family. She refused to treat strangers because she said that anybody who wanted to could learn to pour wax for his or her own domestic purposes.

i) Background

Mrs. K. W. said that she poured wax in her own home, where her children and grandchildren came for help. She poured wax in her kitchen--a room filled with Ukrainian decal pottery trinkets.

ii) Healing

Mrs. K. W. had a fairly negative attitude towards other wax healers. Perhaps she had been disillusioned by a healer she knew of who charged thirty dollars per treatment. Mrs. K. W. said she felt that this healer was only out to make money from her patients.[34]

Mrs. K. W. claimed to have been instructed in wax pouring by a healer who had come from the same village in Ukraine as she had. The few times Mrs. K. W. had poured wax, she had adhered to a fairly stringent routine, but circumstances had forced some adaptations over the years. For example, Mrs. K. W. had been taught to draw water from a well before sunrise. In the city, she was forced to take water from the tap, but she

nevertheless drew her tap water before the sun rose on the day that she was to pour wax.[35] She added some holy water to the fresh tap water for extra strength.

When Mrs. K. W. conducted the Wax Ceremony, she asked her patient to face west, while she herself faced east. She began by crossing herself three times, and then recited the Lord's Prayer in Ukrainian. When asked if she would recite her prayer, she declined, saying it was the same prayer that everyone said.

Mrs. K. W. said she poured the wax a total of nine times per treatment. She poured the wax three times over the head of the patient, three times at the chest of the patient, and three times at the back. Mrs. K. W. said she did not know how to interpret the congealed wax figures, so as soon as the wax had set up, she remelted it.

Mrs. K. W. said that when she was pouring the wax, she was careful to pour it away from herself. She also said that she held a knife in her right hand during the pouring because the knife severed the fear from the patient--"*nozhem vidtenaiese strakh.*"[36]

After the wax had been poured nine times, Mrs. K. W. washed her patient's hands and face in a counterclockwise direction. When the washing was completed, Mrs. K. W. disposed of the wax and water in the kitchen sink.

e) Mrs. M. H.

i) Background

Mrs. M. H. usually poured wax in the kitchen of her rural home. She occasionally made house calls if patients were disabled or too ill to come to her. Several icons, to which she made frequent reference, adorned the room where she poured wax.

On two separate occasions when the researcher and patient Ms. D. N. arrived at Mrs. M. H.'s home, a very elaborate lunch consisting of several courses of Ukrainian food was prepared and served. The researcher noted that a small, black, cast iron frying pan

with a lump of beeswax in it was set off to the side of the stove in Mrs. M. H.'s kitchen. An enamel bowl and a towel sat on her counter. A small jar of water marked with a cross stood beside the bowl: Mrs. M. H. had prepared herself for another wax pouring session.

ii) Healing

One of two known healers in a small town in Alberta, Mrs. M. H. said that she received so many requests for the Wax Ceremony that it was difficult for her to keep up. She said that women could come to her for wax pourings on Wednesdays and Fridays, while men could come on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. Mrs. M. H. did not pour wax on Saturdays or Sundays.

The patient, Ms. D. N., was asked to sit facing east. Before beginning, Mrs. M. H. prayed a quiet prayer over a bowl of water to which some holy water had been added. She then proceeded to wash both her hands and the butter knife that was to be used in the ceremony in the water. She made the sign of the cross over the water, and with her right hand, poured the wax towards herself while holding the bowl above the head of the patient. After the wax had congealed, Mrs. M. H. read the wax. This process was repeated three times. At the conclusion of the third pouring, which was identical to the first two, Mrs. M. H. said that the patient would have to return as the fear [*strakh*] was *zadavnenyi*, or had been with the patient for quite some time.

The second session that the patient had with Mrs. M. H. resulted in a total of seven pourings, all following the pattern described above. After the seventh pouring, the healer was finally satisfied that the patient had been totally exorcised of the evil that had been cast upon her.

At the conclusion of each of the two sessions, the patient was asked to wash her own hands and face. The healer immediately disposed of the water by throwing it on the snow under a tree. Mrs. M. H. claimed that while she had no special incantation other than

the Lord's Prayer she added the words "Ty Bozhe pomozhy meni tsyi ta skazat' a shche" ("God help me today in what I am undertaking").

Ten dollars were left for Mrs. M. H. at the conclusion of each of the two sessions. The healer said that she did not charge for her work, but since the patient had given her money, she in turn would donate it to the local church. Mrs. M. H. did not pick up the money in the presence of the researcher or the patient.

f) Mrs. D. M.

i) Background

Mrs. D. M. poured wax in her home. At each visit, she was careful to draw the attention of the researcher to her collection of numerous religious icons and books, family photo albums, and Ukrainian handicrafts such as embroidery and Easter eggs. Mrs. D. M. was very proud of her Ukrainian heritage.

ii) Healing

After chatting with her patient, Mrs. D. M. faced east while her patient sat facing west. Mrs. D. M. had a large bowl which she filled with tap water. Beeswax was melted in a small container on the stove. Mrs. D. M. explained that a teaspoon tucked under a belt or in a brassiere would keep fear-sickness from being transferred to her. The spoon must be worn with its bowl facing outward or away from the healer.

Mrs. D. M. began the Wax Ceremony by crossing herself three times and reciting a prayer. She held a butter knife in her right hand and made the sign of the cross over the water. The first pouring was done over the head of the patient. A second pouring was done at the chest of the patient. A third pouring was performed over the knees or calves of the

patient. Each time, once the wax had congealed, Mrs. D. M. spent a bit of time studying the wax figures with her patient. If a shape was *iasno*, or apparent, such as a bolt of lightning or a dog, Mrs. D. M. shared this wisdom with her patient. However, Mrs. D. M. claimed that in general, she was unable to interpret wax figures.

After the third wax pouring, Mrs. D. M. washed the patient using her right hand, which she dipped in the water into which the wax had been poured. The face and hands of the patient were washed in a counterclockwise direction [*na wiglie*]. The remaining water was given to the patient in a jar, and the patient was instructed to add the "blessed" water to his bathwater on the evening of the day on which the wax had been poured. If the patient was an infant, the mother was to bathe the child in the water. If the patient was an adult, he was told to sponge bathe using the water, and then to dispose of it at a crossroad or by watering a dry plant, tree or shrub with it. A human foot must never walk across and make contact with the water.

At all four interviews which the researcher conducted, Mrs. D. M. served tea, coffee, and pastry after the pouring and washing. While Mrs. D. M. would not pick up the money that her patients left her, she explained that the money would be donated to her church because her work was not her own but that of God.

Mrs. D. M. preferred to pour wax on Saturday, but she had no special rules about days of the week and pouring wax. She would not, however, pour wax on Sunday. Mrs. D. M. spent approximately one hour with her patients.

g) Mrs. V. B.

i) Background

As has been mentioned previously, Mrs. V. B. is the central figure of this study. Other healers were interviewed in order to contrast and compare their healing techniques

and *materia medica* with those of Mrs. V. B. Of the seven healers interviewed for this study, Mrs. V. B. was the best known. She was extremely popular and sought after as a healer up until her death in 1986 Several family members--who referred to her as a *materfamilias* --believed that in the approximate seventy-five years during which she had practiced lay medicine, she had more than 10,000 people visit her from across Alberta, Canada, and the U.S.A. Five of the six other healers interviewed for this study had either known Mrs. V. B. or had heard of her. Two of them acknowledged having visited her as patients.

Mrs. V. B. was very humble about her healing. While she was very open to discussing her experiences in coming to Canada and her pioneer life on the prairies, she was reluctant to share her knowledge of healing. Another researcher had interviewed Mrs. V. B. in 1971 while recording information about Ukrainian-Canadian lifestyles. Mrs. V. B. told that researcher that she did not want to talk about the Wax Ceremony.[37] She was, however, willing to discuss at liberty herbal teas and other types of remedies of which she had knowledge.

The present researcher had to be extremely diplomatic and persistent in order to establish a special trust and rapport with Mrs. V. B., and to persuade her to overcome her reluctance about discussing her skills (and accomplishments) as a healer. Initially, Mrs. V. B.'s responses to the researcher's inquiries were vague and noncommittal. For example, when the researcher asked Mrs. V. B. what her version of the Wax Ceremony consisted of, she said that it was only a few words and that it was not anything special:

> R. H.: CHy mozhete meni skazaty Vashu prymivku?
> Mrs. V. B.: Ta to bahato nema . . . perekhrestysia i skazhy, "Bozhe pomozhy meni."[38]
>
> R. H.: Can you tell me your incantations?
> Mrs. V. B.: Well, there isn't very much to it at all . . . you have to cross yourself and then you say, "God help me."

The researcher eventually established a strong enough rapport with Mrs. V. B. that she became the primary subject of this study. With the permission of the family and the healer, Mrs. V. B.'s incantations were extracted from two different audiotapes which family members had made while she was performing the Wax Ceremony and from a videotaped interview made by the researcher while Mrs. V. B. poured wax for her grandson.

During the course of her healing career, Mrs. V. B. had poured wax in a variety of locations. If a patient was too ill to travel to her, Mrs. V. B. had made house calls. Most of her healing was done while she lived with her son Mr. M. B. and his family. Mrs. V. B. had a hot plate and an area where she practiced her medicine reserved in the basement of her son's home. Patients were often asked to wait for Mrs. V. B. upstairs in the kitchen if more than one patient at a time had come to visit, or if her next appointment arrived before she had finished with the patient with whom she was presently engaged. If refreshments were served after the wax pouring, the kitchen upstairs was where they were offered.

ii) Healing

The following description of Mrs. V. B.'s healing technique was synthesized from the three videotaped and audiotaped interviews mentioned above.

Mrs. V. B. faced east, while patients were seated facing west. The healer asked that her patients place their feet flat on the ground, and that their hands rest palms down in their laps.

If the patient was older than she, Mrs. V. B. performed a special protective ritual before proceeding with the Wax Ceremony. This ritual was never discussed by Mrs. V. B. with very many of her family members or with the researcher. A description of the ritual was offered by Mrs. V. B.'s grandaughter, Mrs. V. J., who described it as beginning with

a special prayer which was chanted in a corner outside the room where the patient was seated.[39] Mrs. S. B. (Mrs. V. B.'s daughter-in-law) and her daughter, Miss M. B., also referred to a special amulet[40] which Mrs. V. B. kept somewhere on her person in the event that she would be required to pour wax for a patient who was her elder. The amulet was made of cloth in the shape of a square. The square was filled with an unknown substance to protect Mrs. V. B. from sickness transference from the older patient to herself. If the patient was younger than Mrs. V. B., no such amulet was required.

After the necessary precautions were taken, Mrs. V. B. proceeded to prepare water and wax for the Wax Ceremony. She prepared water by adding a single clove of garlic to cold water which she drew from the tap. She then added several generous drops of blessed or holy water to this water. She always used a white enamel bowl to contain her water. Mrs. V. B. prepared beeswax by melting it in a white enamel cup into which she also shaved some paraffin candlewax which had been blessed as part of an Easter basket.[41] While she was preparing her water and tools for the Wax Ceremony, she talked to her patients. They discussed everything from the patient's symptoms to general family news.

After the water and wax had been prepared, Mrs. V. B. stood in front of her patient. She crossed herself three times, reciting a trinitarian formula invoking the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. She continued by reciting a lengthy incantation while holding a butter knife and her enamel water bowl over the head of the patient. After her incantation, she poured the melted wax from the enamel cup into the cold water into the bowl while continuing to hold the bowl over the patient's head.

Mrs. V. B. paid great attention to the interpretation of wax figures. She read the wax figures, and then very convincingly shared her interpretations with the patient. Once she had interpreted as much as she believed was possible, she replaced the wax in the enamel cup and reheated it, while repeating the incantation with a few appropriate variations at the patient's chest. She performed a third pouring behind the patient, holding her bowl

and cup at the patient's shoulders. Again, the incantation incorporated variations appropriate to the location at which the pouring was being made.

After each pouring, Mrs. V. B. used her knife to make the sign of the cross over her patient.[42] At the first pouring, the sign was made over the patient's head. At the second pouring, it was made over the chest, and at the third pouring, down the length of the head and back and across the shoulders.

After the third pouring, Mrs. V. B. took a small shot glass, filled it with the water in which the wax had congealed, and gave it to the patient to drink. The patient was instructed to drink the water in three small sips.

After the patient had drunk the water, Mrs. V. B. used the back of her hand and the remaining water to wash the face, hands, and feet of the patient. If the patient was an infant, the accompanying adult was then given the water to take home so that it could be added to the child's bathwater. If the patient was an adult, the water was not given to the patient to take home. Mrs. V. B. poured it outside under a spruce tree or watered a house plant with it after the patient left.

Before the water was disposed of, the piece of garlic that had been placed in it for the ceremony was removed, wrapped in paper towelling, and given to the patient to take home. The patient was to wear the garlic "close to the heart." Informants said that they could wear the garlic clove in an armpit or a brassiere until they retired on the evening on which wax was poured. The garlic was then placed under the pillow and the patient slept on it for the night. The patient was not to discard the garlic: it should be lost or misplaced without the patient knowing it.

After the washing, Mrs. V. B. proceeded to fumigate her patient with a bundle made from special ribbons wrapped tightly around unidentified, locally grown herbs and grasses. The ribbons were originally used at church to mark the Aprakos Gospel. They were exchanged for newly-bought ribbons which Mrs. V. B. supplied to her priest. The entire bundle was dipped in beeswax to prevent it from burning too quickly. As indicated in

the Glossary of this work, the bundle was referred to as *sviachenne* or *pidkuriuvalo* by Mrs. V. B.'s family. Unfortunately, Mrs. V. B. was never asked what her name for the bundle was.

At the conclusion of the session, money could be left for Mrs. V. B. at the discretion of the patient. The patient was assured that there was no set price for Mrs. V. B.'s healing services, and that if he wished to leave a payment, the money would be donated to the Church.

Mrs. V. B. spent approximately 45 minutes to one hour with each patient. She was aware of designated "female" and "male" healing days of the week, but because she was so much in demand, she accommodated her patients whenever she could. However, she did not perform healings on Sundays, church holidays, and a few days before a new moon known as empty days, or *porozhni dni* .

Additional background information about each of the seven healers follows in Table 1.

Table 1

Healer Profile

Healer :	P.G.	S.K.	J.T.	V.B.	M.H.	D.M.	K.W.
Age	60+	50+	69	93	70	90	74
Sex	M	F	F	F	F	F	F
Place of Birth	Canada	Alberta	Alberta	Vashkivtsi povit, Village Banyliv, Ukraine	L'viv, Ukraine	CHernivtsi oblast', Village Bila, Ukraine	CHernivtsi oblast', Village Kysiliv, Ukraine
Year Emigrated to Canada				c. 1898	1949	1902	1926
Parents' Place of Birth	Unknown	F*: Sniatyn, Ukraine M*: Leduc, AB		As above	L'viv, Ukraine	As above	As above
Occupation	Farmer	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife
Learned Healing From	Unknown	Mother	Mrs. S., local "Old Country" healer	Mother-in-law from Borivtsi, Ukraine	Aunt in Ukraine	Mother	Mrs. W., local healer from Andrew, AB
Location of Practice	Vegreville AB	Edmonton AB	Mundare AB	Edmonton AB	Mundare AB	Edmonton AB	Edmonton AB

Table 1 (cont.)

Healer Profile

Healer :	P.G.	S.K.	J.T.	V.B.	M.H.	D.M.	K.W.
No. of Years of Practice	Unknown	25	30+	75+	40+	75+	Unknown
No. of Patients Cured	200+	40+	1000+	10,000+	Unknown	20+	10+
Religion	Unknown	Ukrainian Catholic	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Orthodox	Ukrainian Orthodox
Native Language	English(?)	English	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian
Marital Status	Married	Widowed	Widowed	Widowed	Widowed	Widowed	Widowed
Will Pass on Powers	Unknown	Yes	Yes, to three people	Yes	No present intentions	Yes	Unknown

*F. (Father), *M. (Mother)

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C. Comparison and Contrast of Healing Techniques

It is evident that the healing techniques of the seven healers interviewed for this study are very similar. The parallels in their healing styles are synopsized below and in Table 2:

a) Time
b) Place and Direction
c) *Materia Medica*
d) Preparation
e) Water
f) The Word
g) Pouring
h) Reading the Figures
i) Washing
j) Fumigation and Blowing
k) Instructions
l) Fees

a) Time

Almost all of the healers had prescribed days and times when they would pour wax. While none of the healers would pour wax on a Sunday, Mrs. J. T., Mrs. S. K. and Mrs. D. M. all preferred to pour wax on Saturday. Mr. P. G. and Mrs. V. B. poured wax whenever they had time. Neither, however, would pour wax on Sundays. Mrs. V. B. would not pour on special saint's days or on "empty days" which she explained were the last three or four days of the fourth quarter of the moon.

All the healers had either heard of or were currently adhering to men's days or women's days. The healers explained that in order to be most effective, men should come only on days reserved for men and women should come on days set aside for women. No two healers agreed on which days were best for which sex.

b) Place and Direction

All seven healers took physical direction into account before beginning to work. Either they themselves faced east or their patients faced east. North or south orientations were never considered.

Most of the healers interviewed for this study performed the Wax Ceremony in the kitchens of their homes. Mr. P. G. had a special room which was used only for this purpose. Mrs. V. B. poured wax in her basement. It is important to note that while each of the healers had a preferred place in which they poured wax, all agreed that the Wax Ceremony could be performed anywhere.

c) *Materia Medica*

While pouring wax, each of the healers held a butter knife in the right hand. Mr. P. G. added a hair comb and a rock to his right hand upon second and third pourings respectively.

All of the informants used beeswax which they purchased at the Ukrainian Bookstore in Edmonton. Occasionally, they would receive gifts of beeswax from patients who lived on farms and had access to beehives, or from patients who would purchase small chunks or rounds of wax and give them to their healers as gifts or as payment for services rendered.

While Mrs. V. B. was the only healer who used garlic during the Wax Ceremony, several healers told the researcher that they had heard of other healers who used garlic.

Mr. P. G. was the only healer who added salt to his bowl of water before beginning the Wax Ceremony.

Each of the healers had a favorite set of utensils which were reserved exclusively for the Wax Ceremony. These tools were never used for any other purpose. Enamel cups for melting wax and enamel bowls for the water seemed to be the most popular with the healers. Mrs. M. H. and Mrs. D. M. both used black cast iron frying pans in which to melt their beeswax.

d) Preparation

Two of the healers, Mrs. V. B. and Mrs. D. M., strongly believed that it was necessary to protect themselves from the translocation of sickness. Mrs. V. B. wore a special, square cloth amulet and recited a prayer outside the room when she was healing a patient older than herself. Mrs. D. M. wore a spoon (with its bowl facing outward) in her belt or brassiere.

Mrs. S. K. said she had to pray and be at peace with herself and God before beginning the Wax Ceremony. The other four healers indicated no special preparatory process.

Before pouring wax, all but one of the healers began by crossing themselves three times. Mrs. M. H. was the only healer who did not commence the ceremony by crossing herself.

e) Water

Mrs. M. H. still used water drawn from a well. This can perhaps be accounted for by the fact that she resided in a rural location. Mrs. S. K., K. W., D. M., and V. B. all preferred water from a natural source such as a well. However, none had access to any other water except tap water.

With the exception of Mrs. K. W., none of the healers indicated a preferred time to draw water. Mrs. K. W. drew her water before sunrise on the day she was to pour wax.

Mrs. V. B., Mr. P. G., and Mrs. J. T. added a few drops of holy water which they got from their church to the healing water.

Mrs. V. B. and Mrs. J. T. were the only two healers who consistently ended the Wax Ceremony by asking their patients to take home the water into which they had poured the molten wax.

f) The Word

Directly after crossing themselves at the beginning of the Wax Ceremony, the healers prayed to God, to saints, to the Virgin Mary, or to other intercessors such as the stars or the moon. Mr. P. G. and Mrs. S. K. prayed in English. The remaining five healers recited their prayers in Ukrainian. Mrs. V. B. and Mrs. D. M. prayed their opening incantations aloud. All the other incantations used in the course of the Wax Ceremony were whispered over the head of the patient or totally inaudible.

Mrs. V. B. was the only healer who said she had to steal the words to her incantations from her mother-in-law. All the other healers had been taught by their family members or by other local healers. In Table 1 a list where the healers acquired their respective skills is given (see pp. 68-69).

g) Pouring

For the most part, the healers poured wax in threes or in multiples of three. Two healers, Mrs. J. T. and Mrs. S. K., poured wax one time per visit.

Mrs. M. H. poured wax for Ms. D. N on three different occasions. At the second pouring, Mrs. M. H. poured wax seven times. Mrs. M. H. and various other healers asked their patients to return if the wax did not come out with a smooth surface after a third pouring. Alternatively, patients might decide to return for another pouring if they felt their symptoms had not totally subsided.

h) Reading the Figures

Four out of the seven healers tried to discern figures in the congealed wax formations. Mrs. V. B. spent the most time interpreting or reading the wax figures. Mrs. J. T. read both sides of the wax and also used the wax figures to predict the future for her patients. Mrs. D. M. said if she found very obvious configurations in the wax, she could tell her patient what she saw. However, she claimed not to be well-versed in interpretation. Mrs. S. K. did not talk about what she could discern in the wax unless she was specifically requested to do so by her patient.

i) Washing

All of the healers, with the exception of Mrs. S. K., washed their patients' face and hands after performing the Wax Ceremony. Mrs. V. B. also washed the feet of her patients. Mrs. J. T. had an elaborate system of folding the washcloth which she used to wash the patient.

j) Fumigation and Insufflation

Mrs. V. B. and Mr. P. G. both practiced fumigation on their patients. They both fumigated around the patient in a counterclockwise direction. While Mrs. V. B. used church ribbons wrapped around a bundle of herbs, Mr. P. G. burned church incense in a metal cup.

Mrs. V. B. was the only healer who blew or insufflated evil or sickness away from her patients.

k) Instructions

Four out of seven healers sent their patients home with very specific instructions at the completion of their respective healing sessions. Mr. P. G. instructed his patients not to lend anything out of the household for three days after the wax pouring. Mrs. J. T. told her patients to arrange a facecloth into a smaller square by folding all four corners towards the middle of the cloth. Mrs. D. M. instructed her patients to wash or sponge bathe with the water from the Wax Ceremony. Mrs. V. B. sent her patients home with the garlic which had been placed in the water, instructing them to sleep on it until they lost track of the garlic.

l) Fees

With the exception of Mr. P. G., none of the healers had a set fee for his or her services. Mr. P. G. stated that his fee was ten dollars per visit.

The healers indicated that a portion or all of the money left by their patients would be given to a church of the healer's choosing. Mr. P. G. was the only exception. He did not indicate how the money would be spent.

None of the healers directly accepted the payment for services in his or her hands. It was incumbent upon the patient simply to leave the offering in a place that would later be noticed by the healer.

In summary, the 23 variables listed in Table 2 were investigated for all seven of the healers. Of these, the East-West orientation of patient and healer, a designated or favorite healing day, praying, crossing one's self, and using enamel cups or bowls to contain the water or wax were the most prevalent.

Table 2

Healing Techniques and *Materia Medica* : A Comparison of Healers

Name of Healer:	P. G.	J. T.	S. K.	K. W.	M. H.	D. M.	V. B.
Technique:							
Direction/Healer	East	East	No Preference	East	East	East	East
Water Source	Tap	Tap	Tap	Tap	Well	Tap	Tap
Time Drawn	N/A	N/A	N/A	Before Sunrise	N/A	N/A	N/A
Healing Day	Most	Sat.	Tues. Thurs.	N/A	Wed., Fri.(Fem.) Mon.,Tues., Thur.(Male)	Sat.	Most
Healing Time	N/A	Before Noon	Before Noon	N/A	Before Noon	N/A	No Preference
Healer Crosses	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Healer Prays	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No. of Pourings	3	1	1	9	3+	3	3
Washing	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Drinking	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes
Insufflation	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Fumigating	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Interpreting	No	Yes	Some	No	Yes	Some	Yes
Holy Water	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Holy Candles	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Beeswax	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Garlic	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes

Table 2 (cont.)

Name of Healer:	P. G.	J. T.	S. K.	K. W.	M. H.	D. M.	V. B.
Technique:							
Salt	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No
Knife	Knife, Comb, Rock	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Protective Talisman	No	No	No	No	No	Tsp. in belt	Cloth amu-let
Vessels	E'mel* cup, bowl	P'tic** bowl, cup	E'mel bowl	N/A	P'tic bowl, pan	Bowl, pan	E'mel bowl, cup
Payment	$10	Not Set	None	None	Not Set	Not Set	Not Set
Instructions	Do not lend/ borrow any-thing for 3 days	Make a wish while washing towards and away from oneself for 3 nights	None	None	None	Bathe with water and sleep on it	Take garlic home

*Enamel
**Plastic

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D. Other Healing Rituals

The Wax Ceremony shares many traits in common with folk medical rituals practiced in other cultures. As in other folk medicines, the Wax Ceremony's underlying belief system is a delicate balance of sympathetic magic and Christian symbolism. The *materia medica*--the knives, wax, smoke, garlic et al.--are also found in other cultures. These "tools of the trade" are universal symbols found in folk medicine practiced around the world. They are also characteristic not only of the Wax Ceremony, but of other healing rituals in Ukrainian folk culture.

Whenever possible, the following discussion of the commonalities between the Ukrainian Wax Ceremony and folk medicine practices in other cultures is organized according to the subheadings established in the previous section:

a) Time
b) Place and Direction
c) *Materia Medica*
d) Fumigation and Insufflation
e) Symbolism.

a) Time

All of the healers interviewed for this study had rules regarding the days or times of day when they could perform the Wax Ceremony. Such restrictions are evident in other Ukrainian folk medical rituals. For example, the noted Ukrainian ethnographer KH. Vovk refers to a phenomenon known as heavy days or "*tiazhki dni* "[43] on which healing is not well-executed. Mrs. V. B. had days which she designated as empty days or "*porozhni*

dni." Other healers had designated "male" and "female" days. They believed that more powerful healing would result on the designated days.

b) Place and Direction

East-West orientation and general direction were key factors in the Wax Ceremony. W. Ralston says that the tradition of turning towards the East before praying is practiced worldwide. Among the peasantry in what Ralston refers to as Russia, it is believed that people who have taken ill must face the East in order to be cured of their maladies.[44]

The penchant for ritual directions that is common in folk medicine can perhaps be explained by the folk's association with and dependence upon the firmaments--the sun, the moon, and the stars. According to ancient lore, Christians view the East as sacred because this is whence Christ will return at the Second Coming.

W. Hand writes this about directions and healing:

> The relationship of curing rituals to directions, points of the compass, and the firmament, and their connections, in turn, with ancient cultic and mythylogical ideas is not easy to prove; however, healing of the sick, as an office of utmost gravity, was, under certain circumstances, carried out in the open air.[45]

Direction played an important role in the healing ritual of all Wax Ceremony practitioners with the exception of Mrs. S. K. All of the other healers believed that at the completion of the Wax Ceremony, water was to be discarded in a direction away from the body. Five of the healers believed that the washing of body parts was to be performed in a counterclockwise direction. The exception was Mrs. V. B., who washed the face, hands, and feet of her patients in a clockwise direction. Mr. P. G. fumigated patients by walking around them in a counterclockwise direction. Mrs. J. T. instructed her patients to wash in a

counterclockwise direction for the first two nights after the Wax Ceremony had been performed. On the third night, they were to wash in a clockwise direction.

W. Hand explains the use of a counterclockwise or countersunwise direction as a reversal or return to the better.[46] The sickness, the evil, the fear must be removed, and harmony must be restored: the negative situation must be "countered" or reversed.

c) *Materia Medica*

Mrs. V. B. incorporated several items which she considered holy into her healing: a candle that had been blessed in her Easter basket, ribbons which were used as bookmarkers in the priest's service book, and old altar cloths. The importance and power of even touching vestments or items that have been in or are found in church is discussed in Etnograficheskoe obozrenie [Ethnographic Survey], where it is noted that the cap the priest wears, the keys that open the church, or the priest's belt can be used to touch an ill person.[47] In the mind of the folk, the power to cure that these items wield is commensurate with the frequency with which they are handled by the priest.

Mrs. V. B. used garlic as part of the Wax Ceremony. She was a firm believer in the power of garlic not only to cure when ingested, but to protect from evil. In Etnograficheskoe obozrenie, there is documentation about how garlic is used in Bulgaria to cure sickness.[48] After a woman has given birth, a clove of garlic is placed under her pillow in order to protect her and the newborn from evil spirits.[49]

The use of salt in folk medicine is not uncommon. Mr. P. G. added salt to the water into which he poured the molten wax. The use of salt is well-known in Russia for keeping evil spirits away from new mothers or pregnant women. Among Russians, hot coals and salt are put into water and prayed over in a divinatory process to cure restlessness and general feelings of unrest .[50]

Mr. P. G. used a comb as part of his ritual when pouring wax, saying that the comb would "comb away" fear from the patient. In Folk Medicine: A Chapter in the History of Culture, W. G. Black describes how a comb is used in a Scottish cure for sore breasts. A comb and a pair of scissors are placed into a sieve in a form of a cross, and water and melted lead are slowly poured over them. The hardened lead shapes are then examined by the healer to see if any of the formations resemble a heart.[51]

Holding a dull butter knife in the right hand while performing the Wax Ceremony was practiced by all of the healers interviewed for this study. The informants explained that the knife was important because it cut fear away from the patient. Mrs. V. J. said that her grandmother, Mrs. V. B. the healer, had told her that the knife needed to have a smooth edge so that the life of the patient would continue smoothly after the Wax Ceremony had been performed.[52] In Ukrainian folklore, a knife is given to pregnant women to protect them from evil and sickness. The knife is to be tucked under their pillows and slept on for protection.[53]

d) Fumigation and Insufflation

Mr. P.G. and Mrs. V.B. were the only two healers who fumigated or incensed their patients during the Wax Ceremony. After fumigating, Mrs. V. B. rubbed ashes on the patient's hands and forehead. In the article "Obriady, sviazannye s okhranoi zdorovia v prazdnike letnego solntsestoianiia u vostochnykh i iuzhnykh slavian" ["Rituals Associated with the Protection of Health as Practiced During the Summer Solstice Feast Among Eastern and Southern Slavs"], R. D. Drazheva writes that among Russians and Ukrainians, grasses are burned to ward off various sicknesses. Both the patient and the dwelling are incensed. Byelorussians fumigate in order to cure the Evil Eye and to dispense of fear.[54] Another reference to fumigating the patient is found in "The Spiritual Culture of the People" in Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia:

> The people did not have a naturalistic conception of nature and of the natural. Instead, they had spatial conceptions of natural processes as coming and going ... if the person who was ill was enveloped in smoke, it was done to induce the illness to go out of him.[55]

Mrs. V.B. was the only healer to blow evil and sickness away from her patients. This ancient pagan act syncretically exists with modern day Christian worship both in the Ukrainian Church as well as in non-Eastern rite churches. In the Church, insufflation symbolizes the expulsion of evil while at the same time signifying the conferring of the Holy Spirit. Insufflation is commonly found in the rite of baptism: "infants ... are exorcised and breathed upon to show that they are delivered from the power of darkness and transferred to the kingdom of Christ."[56]

e) Symbolism

The numbers three and nine figured prominently with the various healers interviewed for this study. Mrs. M. H. poured wax as many as three different times to a maximum of seven pourings per patient per visit. Mrs. K. W. poured wax three times over three different body locations, for a total of nine pourings. Mrs. V. B. and Mrs. D. M. recited their lengthy incantations three times per session. Mrs. M. H. poured water into her bowl in three distinct motions. Mrs. V. B.'s patients sipped water from a shot glass three times.

Thompson[57] explains the significance of these numbers as follows. The number nine was equated with wisdom, power, mystery, and protection. Three

> was regarded as a Holy number and has always been looked upon with favor in all things. It was the number of the Trinity, signifying plenty and fruitfulness and the third day was venerated as being one of good fortune.

The number three represented wholeness or perfection through the primitive concept of trinity: body, soul, and spirit.

Thompson says that the number seven was regarded as even more mystical than three because it bonded two sets of threes together. The number seven had divine significance for magicians and healers. The Pythagoreans associated seven with the seven days of the week, the seven planets, seven known metals, and the seven ages of man.

In the minds of healers and their patients today, the numbers three and seven have taken on Christian significance. Three is representative of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and seven is the day on which God rested after he created the world. According to Z. Boltarovych, these numbers were considered holy and were referred to as "*znaky, danymy bohom*" [signs given by God].[58]

Numbers figured prominently in Mrs. D. M.'s incantation. Her formula contained a set of running numbers which began with the number nine and ended at zero. In effect Mrs. D. M. exorcised her patient's fear according to a numerical sequence:

TSei strakh mav dévik strakhív,
Viv ikh na dévik hotarív,
Zacháv ikh rozsyláty pustymy poliámy,
krútymy dorógamy.
I z deviet'ókh sy lyshylo visimókh,
Z visimókh, simókh,
Z simókh, shist'ókh,
Z shist'ókh, piet'ókh,
Z piet'ókh, shtyrókh,
Z shtyrókh, tr'okh,
Z tr'okh, dvokh,

Z dvokh, ne wodén.[59]

[This fear had nine fears,
And he lead them to nine herds,
And he began to disperse them to empty fields and onto windy roads.
And from the nine, eight remained,
And from the eight, seven remained,
And from the seven, six remained,
And from the six, five remained,
And from the five, four remained,
And from the four, three remained,
And from the three, two remained,
And from the two not even one.]

Like numbers, colors also have symbolic representations in healing. Red is considered to be one of the most powerful colors. Evil spirits and the diseases which they wreak find the color red most obnoxious. In some parts of Britain, patients are asked to rest on red bedsheets or wear small pieces of red cloth on their bodies in order to get well. White is considered to be the opposite of red: it is cold, pure and flawless. Yellow, although it does not appear to be an important color in the healing rituals of other cultures, in Ukrainian culture is often associated with bones. A popular Ukrainian proverb speaks of someone being lazy right to their yellow bones: "*Linyvyi do zhovtoi kistky.*" The color yellow appears frequently in Ukrainian healing incantations.

In Mrs. V.B.'s incantation, the colors red, yellow and white were referred to frequently: "*CHervonu krov ne pyi, bile tilo ne sushy, zhovtu kist' ne lupai* " [Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone.] These colors were repeated several times throughout the incantation.

Like Mrs. V. B., Mrs. D. M. drew attention to a white body in her first incantation, which she prayed over the head of the patient.

Two healers insisted that their best wax pourings were achieved when they used black cast iron frying pans in which to melt the wax. According to Thompson, black is associated with powers from the underworld.[60]

E. Incantations

The utterances associated with the Wax Ceremony can be described as "oral-incantational" in nature. The name represents that which is "oral" or articulated, and an "incantation" or a prescription of words and accompanying actions. The incantation is a prayer uttered by the specialized diviner or healer at a specific time in a specific place in a predetermined manner which is apropos to the entire act.

The Wax Ceremony is never performed without accompanying words. These words are referred to as *molytva* [prayer], *slova* [words], *prymivka/prymovka* [incantation], *zamovlennia/zamovliannia* [conjuration], *zachytuvannia* [conjuration], *zaklynannia* [conjuration], and *zahovor* [incantation].

All seven healers had a formula which was an integral part of their Wax Ceremony healing.

a) Mrs. V. B.

Of the extant incantations used by the seven healers interviewed for this study, Mrs. V. B.'s incantations were the most detailed.

Mrs. V. B. had a total of six different incantations which she uttered during the Wax Ceremony and a seventh which was used for other healing rituals. The basic formula for the first three incantations was the same. Mrs. V. B. enlisted the aid of higher powers

to effect the healing, and then in the name of these aforementioned powers, she exorcised the evil to places where no human would ever go. Once removed from the body, the evil was commanded to stay away and to cause no further harm to the patient.

Incantation One

In Incantation One, evil was removed from the head, blood, and all the joints of the patient. Incantation One was prayed over the head of the patient while a knife was held in the right hand, and an enamel bowl into which the molten wax would be poured was held in the left hand.

1 Berúsia do (im'ia) holovy, do (im'ia) krovy, do (im'ia) usíkh sustavók,
2 Vyzyváty, vyklykáty tsei strakh strakhovyi,
3 Opívnishnyi, polúdnishnyi,
4 Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody,
5 Náslanyi, záspanyi.
6 IA z lykhym chysóm vyzyváiu,
7 Vyklykáiu ne samá sobóiu, a Hóspodom
8 Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm i z Mátir Bózhov
9 I sestrytsi-zirnytsi
10 IE vas 77 i odná,
11 Dopomaháite my khodyty, dopomaháite my robyty,
12 Pomozhít (im'ia) tsei strakh zastanovyty.
13 (Im'ia) sys tsym ne rodyv, (im'ia), sys tsym ne khrystyv,
14 (Im'ia) sys tsym ne myruváv.
15 SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) holovy, vid (im'ia) krovy,
16 Vid (im'ia) usikh sustavók.
17 CHervónu krov ne pyi, bíle kílo ne sushy, zhóvtu kist' ne lupái
18 Kólo sértsia ne uviely,
19 Hnizdó sobí ne roby.
20 IA tebé vyzyváiu Bózhymy hubámy, Bózhymy slovámy,
21 Za hóry, za móry vidpuskáiu.
22 Búdesh ty horámy perevertáty,
23 Piskámy peresypáty, vodámy perelyváty, lisámy lomáty.
24 By (im'ia) spav, spochyváv, léhku nich mav,
25 Za tsei strakh ne znav.
26 IA tebé kosámy vykósuvaiu, serpámy vyzhynáiu,
27 Na zelíznim tukú rozbyváiu.
28 Vohón' pohoríie, pópil popelíie.
29 SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) holovy, vid (im'ia) krovy, vid (im'ia) usikh sustavók.
30 IA tebé zastanovyla Bózhymy hubámy, Bózhymy slovámy,

IAk zastanovyv Hóspod' sorokodényi na nébi i na zemlí,
Tak zastanovyv, (im'ia) tsiu krov
Zaliúshchu, paliúshchu,
Zavedéno, ubrydéno, náslano, záspano.
Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody, z vorókiv, zo skókiv.
IA tebé zastanovyla, zasumoryla,
Za hóry, za móry vidpustyla,
Tam de liúdy ne khódut,
De kúry ne píiut,
De víter ne víie,
De sóntse ne hríie.
Tam tobí huliáty,
Tam tobí nochuváty,
Tam tobí rozkoshuváty,
Tam tobí hnizdó máty.
By (im'ia) spav, vidpochuváv,
Lékhu nich mav, za tsei strakh ne znav.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) holovy, vid (im'ia) krovy,
Vid (im'ia) usíkh sustavók.
IA tebé vyzyváiu z mózku, zpid mózku,
Z cholá, zpid cholá,
Z briv, zpid briv,
Z ochéi, zpid ochéi,
Z hubéi, zpid hubéi,
Zo zubéi, zpid zubéi,
Z borody, zpid borody,
Z shyi, zpid shyi,
Z sértsa, spid sértsa,
Z pechinók, zpid pechinók,
Z slyzanók, zpid slyzanók,
Vid usíkh sustavók.
IA tebé vyzyváiu, nozhámy roztynáiu.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) holovy, vid (im'ia) sértsia,
vid (im'ia) pechinók, vid usíkh sustavók.
CHervónu krov ne pyi, bíle kílo ne sushy, zhóvtu kist' ne lupái,
Kólo sértsia ne yviely,
Hnizdó sobí ne roby.
SHCHyzái i propadái.
Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
Vid méne lik, a vid Bóha vik.
I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
[Wax is poured into the water, and the incantation continues].
Zastanovyty, zasumoryty
TSiu krov zaliúshchu, paliúshchu,
Zavedéno, ubrydéno,
Náslano, záspano.

Translation--Incantation One

I take to the head of (name), to the blood of (name), to all the joints of (name).
To adjure, to summon this fear of fears,
From the North and from the South,
From want, from work, from food, from water,
Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.
With the evil hour I adjure you,
I summon you, not by my sole power, but by the power of the Lord
God Jesus Christ and with the Mother of God
And the sister-stars--
You number 77 and one.
Help me to walk, help me to work,
Help (name) to contain this fear.
(Name) was not born with this, (name) was not baptized with this,
(Name) was not anointed with this.
Disappear and vanish from (name) head, from (name) blood,
From all (name) joints.
Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone
By the heart, you are not to appear
And make yourself a nest.
I summon you with God's lips and with God's words
And send you over mountains, and over the sea.
There you will turn over mountains,
Pour over sands, pour over waters, and break forests.
Let (name) sleep, rest and have a peaceful night,
And no longer know of this fear.
I cut you down with scythes, and with sickles I mow you down,
On a steel anvil I break you apart.
The fire will burn down, and the ashes will turn to dust.
Disappear and vanish from (name) head, from (name) blood, from all the joints of (name).
I have arrested you with God's lips and with God's words,
As the Lord did after forty days in heaven and on Earth,
So He arrested (name) blood,
Burning and hot
As was instigated, putrified, sent upon us, steeped in sleep.
From desire, from work, from food, from water, from the Evil Eye, from cattle
I have arrested you and mortified you
And sent you to the mountains and to the sea,
Where man does not walk,
Where roosters do not crow,
Where the wind does not blow,
Where the sun does not warm.
That is where you are to play.
That is where you are to spend the night.
That is where you are to enjoy yourself.
That is where you shall make your nest.
Let (name) sleep, rest
And have a peaceful night, not knowing this fear any longer.

48 Disappear and vanish from (name) head, from (name) blood, from all the joints of (name).
49 I summon you from the brain, and from under the brain,
50 From the forehead, and from under the forehead,
51 From the brows, and from under the brows,
52 From the eyes, and from under the eyes,
53 From the lips, and from under the lips,
54 From the teeth, and from under the teeth,
55 From the chin, and from under the chin,
56 From the neck, and from under the neck,
57 From the heart, and from under the heart,
58 From the livers, and from under the livers,
59 From the spleen, and from under the spleen,
60 And from all the joints.
61 I adjure you, and with knives cut you away.
62 Disappear and vanish from (name) head, from (name) heart,
63 From (name) livers, from all of the joints of (name).
64 Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone
65 By the heart, you are not to appear
66 And make yourself a nest.
67 Disappear and vanish.
68 I say the incantation, from God in His voice.
69 I say the incantation, from God in His voice.
70 I give the cure, and God gives life.
71 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
72 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
73 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
74 To arrest, to mortify
75 This blood which is burning, and hot
76 As was instigated, putrified,
77 Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.

Incantation Two

Incantation Two was very similar in style and form to Incantation One. Prayed in front of the patient at the chest, the incantation served to exorcise the heart, liver and spleen of evil.

Incantations One and Two do not differ except lines one, 48, and 49, where the blood referred to in Incantation One is replaced with the "heart" and "liver." Lines 50-63, where evil is being pulled from the top of the brain down to the spleen, are unique to Incantation One. Consequently, the second incantation is shorter than the first.

Berúsia do (im'ia) sértsa, do (im'ia) pechinók, do (im'ia) slyzanók,
Vyzyváty, vyklykáty tsei strakh strakhovyi,
Opívnishnyi, polúdnishnyi,
Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody,
Náslanyi, záspanyi.
IA z lykhym chysóm vyzyváiu,
Vyklykáiu ne samá sobóiu, a Hóspodom
Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm i z Mátir Bózhov
I sestrytsi-zirnytsi
IE vas 77 i odná,
Dopomaháite my khodyty, dopomaháite my robyty,
Pomozhít (im'ia) tsei strakh zastanovyty.
(Im'ia) sys tsym ne rodyv, (im'ia), sys tsym ne khrystyv,
(Im'ia) sys tsym ne myruváv.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) sértsa, vid (im'ia) pechinók,
Vid (im'ia) usíkh sustavók.
CHervónu krov ne pyi, bíle kílo ne sushy, zhóvtu kist' ne lupái,
Kólo sértsia ne uviely,
Hnizdó sobí ne roby.
IA tebé vyzyváiu Bózhymy hubámy, Bózhymy slovámy,
Za hóry, za móry vidpuskáiu.
Búdesh ty horámy perevertáty,
Piskámy peresypáty, vodámy perelyváty, lisámy lomáty.
By (im'ia) spav, spochyváv, léhku nich mav,
Za tsei strakh ne znav.
IA tebé kosámy vykósuvaiu, serpámy vyzhynáiu,
Na zelíznim tukú rozbyváiu.
Vohón' pohoríe, pópil popelíe.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) sértsa, vid (im'ia) pechinók, vid (im'ia) usíkh sustavók.
IA tebé zastanovyla Bózhymy hubámy, Bózhymy slovámy,
IAk zastanovyv Hóspod' sorokodényi na nébi i na zemlí,
Tak zastanovyv, (im'ia) tsiu krov
Zaliúshchu, paliúshchu,
Zavedéno, ubrydéno, náslano, záspano.
Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody, z vorókiv, zo skókiv.
IA tebé zastanovyla, zasumoryla,
Za hóry, za móry vidpustyla,
Tam de liúdy ne khódut,
De kúry ne piíut,
De víter ne víie,
De sóntse ne hríie.
Tam tobí huliáty,
Tam tobí nochuváty,
Tam tobí rozkoshuváty,
Tam tobí hnizdó máty,
By (im'ia) spav, vidpochuváv,
Lékhu nich mav, za tsei strakh ne znav.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) sértsa, vid (im'ia) pechinók, vid (im'ia) usíkh slyzanók.
CHervónu krov ne pyi, bíle kílo ne sushy, zhóvtu kist' ne lupái,
Kólo sértsia ne yviely,
Hnizdó sobí ne roby.
SHCHyzái i propadái.

53 Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
54 Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
55 Vid méne lik, a vid Bóha vik.
56 I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
57 I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
58 I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
[Wax is poured into the water, and the incantation continues].
59 Zastanovyty, zasumoryty
60 TSiu krov zaliúshchu, paliúshchu,
61 Zavedéno, ubrydéno,
62 Náslano, záspano.

Translation--Incantation Two

1 I take to the heart of (name), to the liver of (name), to the spleen of (name).
2 To adjure, to summon this fear of fears,
3 From the North and from the South,
4 From want, from work, from food, from water,
5 Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.
6 With the evil hour I adjure you,
7 I summon you, not by my sole power, but by the power of the Lord
8 God Jesus Christ and with the Mother of God
9 And the sister-stars--
10 You number 77 and one.
11 Help me to walk, help me to work,
12 Help (name) to contain this fear.
13 (Name) was not born with this, (name) was not baptized with this,
14 (Name) was not anointed with this.
15 Disappear and vanish from (name) heart, from (name) liver,
16 From all (name) joints.[61]
17 Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone
18 By the heart you are not to appear
19 And make yourself a nest.
20 I summon you with God's lips and with God's words,
21 And send you over mountains, and over the sea.
22 There you will turn over mountains,
23 Pour over sands, pour over waters, and break forests.
24 Let (name) sleep, rest and have a peaceful night.
25 And no longer know of this fear.
26 I cut you down with scythes, and with sickles I mow you down,
27 On a steel anvil I break you apart.
28 The fire will burn down, and the ashes will turn to dust.
29 Disappear and vanish from (name) heart, from (name) liver, from all the joints of (name).
30 I have arrested you with God's lips and with God's words,
31 As the Lord did after forty days in heaven and on Earth,
32 So He arrested (name) blood,
33 Burning, and hot
34 As was instigated, putrified, sent upon us, steeped in sleep.

35 From desire, from work, from food, from water, from the Evil Eye,
from cattle.
36 I have arrested you and mortified you
37 And sent you to the mountains and to the sea,
38 Where man does not walk,
39 Where roosters do not crow,
40 Where the wind does not blow,
41 Where the sun does not warm.
42 That is where you are to play.
43 That is where you are to spend the night.
44 That is where you are to enjoy yourself.
45 That is where you shall make your nest.
46 Let (name) sleep, rest
47 And have a peaceful night, not knowing this fear any longer.
48 Disappear and vanish from (name) heart, from (name) liver,
49 From the spleen of (name).
50 Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone
51 By the heart, you are not to appear
52 And make yourself a nest.
53 Disappear and vanish.
54 I say the incantation, from God in His voice.
55 I say the incantation, from God in His voice.
56 I give the cure, and God gives life.
57 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
58 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
59 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
60 To arrest, to mortify
61 This blood which is burning, and hot
62 As was instigated, putrified,
63 Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.

Incantation Three

Incantation Three was almost a verbatim formula of the first incantation. Prayed behind the patient at shoulder level, the incantation exorcised evil from the shoulders, the lower back, and all the joints. The translation is the same as for Incantation Two except that the heart, liver, and spleen have been replaced by the shoulders, back, and joints in line one. Lines 48-49 refer to an exorcism of evil from body parts contained in Incantations One, Two, and Three.

1 Berúsia do (im'ia) plechéi, do (im'ia) kryzhéi, do (im'ia) usíkh sustavók,
2 Vyzyváty, vyklykáty tsei strakh strakhovyi,
3 Opívnishnyi, polúdnishnyi,
4 Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody,

Náslanyi, záspanyi.
IA z lykhym chysóm vyzyváiu,
Vyklykáiu ne samá sobóiu, a Hóspodom
Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm i z Mátir Bózhov
I sestrytsi-zirnytsi
IE vas 77 i odná,
Dopomaháite my khodyty, dopomaháite my robyty,
Pomozhít (im'ia) tsei strakh zastanovyty.
(Im'ia) sys tsym ne rodyv, (im'ia), sys tsym ne khrystyv,
(Im'ia) sys tsym ne myruváv.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) plechéi, vid (im'ia) kryzhéi,
Vid usíkh sustavók.
CHervónu krov ne pyi, bíle kílo ne sushy, zhóvtu kist' ne lupái,
Kólo sértsia ne uviely,
Hnizdó sobí ne roby.
IA tebé vyzyváiu Bózhymy hubámy, Bózhymy slovámy,
Za hóry, za móry vidpuskáiu.
Búdesh ty horámy perevertáty,
Piskámy peresypáty, vodámy perelyváty, lisámy lomáty.
By (im'ia) spav, spochyváv, léhku nich mav,
Za tsei strakh ne znav.
IA tebé kosámy vykósuvaiu, serpámy vyzhynáiu,
Na zelíznim tukú rozbyváiu.
Vohón' pohoriíe, pópil popeliíe.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) plechéi, vid (im'ia) kryzhéi, vid (im'ia) usíkh sustavók.
IA tebé zastanovyla Bózhymy hubámy, Bózhymy slovámy,
IAk zastanovyv Hóspod' sorokodényi na nébi i na zemlí,
Tak zastanovyv, (im'ia) tsiu krov
Zaliúshchu, paliúshchu,
Zavedéno, ubrydéno, náslano, záspano.
Z okhóty, z robóty, z idy, z vody, z vorókiv, zo skókiv.
IA tebé zastanovyla, zasumoryla,
Za hóry, za móry vidpustyla,
Tam de liúdy ne khódut,
De kúry ne piíut,
De víter ne víie,
De sóntse ne hríie.
Tam tobí huliáty,
Tam tobí nochuváty,
Tam tobí rozkoshuváty,
Tam tobí hnizdó máty.
By (im'ia) spav, vidpochuváv,
Lékhu nich mav, za tsei strakh ne znav.
SHCHyzái i propadái vid (im'ia) holovy, vid (im'ia) sértsa, vid (im'ia) pechinók, vid (im'ia) plechéi, vid (im'ia) kryzhéi,
Vid usíkh sustavók.
SHCHyzái i propadái.
Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
Vid méne lik, a vid Bóha vik.
I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.
I ne chesnók, ne vohón', sam Hóspod rozbói.

[Wax is poured into the water, and the incantation continues].
58 Zastanovyty, zasumoryty
59 TSiu krov zaliúshchu, paliúshchu
60 Zavedéno, ubrydéno,
61 Náslano, záspano.

Translation--Incantation Three

1 I take to the shoulders of (name), to the lower back of (name), to all the joints of (name).
2 To adjure, to summon this fear of fears,
3 From the North and from the South,
4 From want, from work, from food, from water,
5 Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.
6 With the evil hour I adjure you,
7 I summon you, not by my sole power, but by the power of the Lord
8 God Jesus Christ and with the Mother of God
9 And the sister-stars--
10 You number 77 and one.
11 Help me to walk, help me to work,
12 Help (name) to contain this fear.
13 (Name) was not born with this, (name) was not baptized with this,
14 (Name) was not anointed with this.
15 Disappear and vanish from (name) shoulders, from (name) lower back,
16 From all (name) joints.
17 Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone
18 By the heart you are not to appear
19 And make yourself a nest.
20 I summon you with God's lips and with God's words
21 And send you over mountains, and over the sea.
22 There you will turn over mountains,
23 Pour over sands, pour over waters, and break forests.
24 Let (name) sleep, rest and have a peaceful night.
25 And no longer know of this fear.
26 I cut you down with scythes, and with sickles I mow you down,
27 On a steel anvil I break you apart
28 The fire will burn down, and the ashes will turn to dust.
29 Disappear and vanish from (name) shoulders, from (name) back, from all the joints of (name).
30 I have arrested you with God's lips and with God's words,
31 As the Lord did after forty days in heaven and on Earth,
32 So He arrested (name) blood,
33 Burning, and hot
34 As was instigated, putrified, sent upon us, steeped in sleep.
35 From desire, from work, from food, from water, from the Evil Eye, from cattle.
36 I have arrested you and mortified you
37 And sent you to the mountains and to the sea,
38 Where man does not walk,
39 Where roosters do not crow,

40 Where the wind does not blow,
41 Where the sun does not warm.
42 That is where you are to play,
43 That is where you are to spend the night.
44 That is where you are to enjoy yourself.
45 That is where you shall make your nest.
46 Let (name) sleep, rest
47 And have a peaceful night, not knowing this fear any longer.
48 Disappear and vanish from (name) head, from (name) heart, from the (name) liver, from (name) shoulders, from (name) lower back,
49 From all the joints of (name).
50 Disappear and vanish.
51 I say the incantation, from God in His voice.
52 I say the incantation, from God in His voice.
53 I give the cure, and God gives life.
54 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
55 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
56 It is not the garlic, nor the water, but the Lord Himself who is doing battle.
57 To arrest, to mortify
58 This blood which is burning, and hot
59 As was instigated, putrified,
60 Sent upon us, steeped in sleep.

Incantation Four

Incantation Four was prayed while Mrs. V. B. lightly washed the face, hands, chest, and feet of the patient. The form of this incantation appears to be imitative in nature. As the water from the River Jordan washes clean the meadows and shores, so too shall the curative water wash the patient clean from fear, horror, sickness, hatred, and bad nerves.

1 TSe vodá Iordána, do vs'óho prydána,
2 Myie luhy--berehy.
3 Umyí vid tsého strakhú, vid tsého zhekhú,
4 Vid tséi slábosty, vid tséi nenávysty, vid tsykh nérviv.
5 Umyi vid tsého strakhú, vid tsého zhekhú,
6 Vid tséi slábosty, vid tséi nenávysty, vid tsykh nérviv.
7 Umyi vid tsého strakhú, vid tsého zhekhú,
8 Vid tséi slábosty, vid tséi nenávysty, vid tsykh nérviv.
9 Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
10 Vid méne promóva, vid Bóha falós.
11 Vid méne lik, a vid Bóha vik.

Translation--Incantation Four

1 This is water of the Jordan: in everything it has use.
2 It washes the meadows and the shores.
3 Cleanse from this fear, from this horror,
4 From this sickness, from this hatred, from these nerves.
5 Cleanse from this fear, from this horror,
6 From this sickness, from this hatred, from these nerves.
7 Cleanse from this fear, from this horror,
8 From this sickness, from this hatred, from these nerves.
9 I say the incantation, from God in His voice
10 I say the incantation, from God in His voice
11 I give the cure, and God gives life.

Incantation Five

Mrs. V. B. fumigated her patients at the end of the Wax Ceremony. Incantation Five was prayed while a homemade incensor, made out of ribbons tightly wound together, was burned in order to fumigate the patient. As in Incantation Four, imitative magic is at work. As the smoke rises and disappears over the Earth, so too shall the fear, sickness, hatred, and bad nerves that have been plaguing the patient.

1 IAk tsei dym sy rozkhódyt po svíti,
2 Tak by vid (im'ia) tsei strakh, tsa slábist',
3 TSe nenávist, tsi nérvy rozishlysy.
4 IAk tsei dym sy rozkhódyt po svíti,
5 Tak by vid (im'ia) tsei strakh, tsa slábist',
6 Tse nenávist, tsi nérvy rozishlysy.
7 IAk tsei dym sy rozkhódyt po svíti.
8 Tak by vid (im'ia) tsei strakh, tsa slábist',
9 TSe nenávist, tsi nérvy rozishlysy.

Translation--Incantation Five

1 As this smoke disperses over the Earth,
2 So too shall this fear, this sickness,
3 This hatred, these nerves, leave the body of (name).
4 As this smoke disperses over the Earth,

5 So too shall this fear, this sickness,
6 This hatred, these nerves, leave the body of (name).
7 As this smoke disperses over the Earth
8 So too shall this fear, this sickness,
9 This hatred, these nerves, leave the body of (name).

Incantation Six

Incantation Six was prayed while Mrs. V. B. insufflated the patient. The insufflation was performed over the top of the head of the patient, and around the face and back of the head moving in a counterclockwise direction.

1 IA ne zduváiu pórokh, ále strakh.
2 IA ne zduváiu pórokh, ále strakh i slábist'.
3 IA ne zduváiu pórokh, ále strakh, slábist', nenávist', nérvy, uróky.
4 SHCHezáty, propadáty vid (im'ia) holovy, vid (im'ia) sértsa,
5 Vid (im'ia) pechinók, vid (im'ia) plechéi,
6 Vid (im'ia) kryzhéi, vid usíkh sustavók.
7 CHervónu krov ne pyi, bíle kílo ne sushy, zhóvtu kist' ne lupái,
8 Kólo sértsia ne uviely,
9 Hnizdó sobí ne roby.
10 SHCHyzái i propadái na shchéstie, na zdoróvlie.

Translation--Incantation Six

1 I am not blowing away dust, but fear.
2 I am not blowing away dust, but fear and sickness.
3 I am not blowing away dust, but fear, sickness, hatred, nerves, and the Evil Eye.
4 To disappear and vanish from (name) head, from (name) heart,
5 From (name) liver, from (name) shoulders,
6 From (name) lower back, from all the joints of (name).
7 Do not drink red blood, dehydrate a white body, nor strip a yellow bone
8 By the heart you are not to appear
9 And make yourself a nest.
10 Disappear and vanish in the name of good fortune and health.

Incantation Seven

Incantation Seven was discovered posthumously, after Mrs. V. B.'s death, and forwarded to the researcher by Mrs. V. B.'s daughter. It appears to have been used to exorcise evil and sickness from patients, but to the best of Mrs. V. B.'s family's knowledge, it was not used in conjunction with the Wax Ceremony. The form of this incantation parallels Incantation One of the Wax Ceremony. In both cases, the evil is commanded to leave various body parts, beginning with the skull and brain down to the blood.

Mísiatsiu novyí, kníaziu molodyí,
Pishly cholovíka na Osiiáns'ku horú.
U chervónim ubranniú ne idy tudá.
Ozmy daléko nozhív, i prystupy do (im'ia)
I vyrubái satanú z holovy
I vyzhyny na hóry, na pisky, na vódy.
Zabery satanú z vólosu, zpid vólosu,
Z shkíry, zpid shkíry,
Z zhyliv, zpid zhyliv,
I z króvy.
Zabery satanú,
Vidoshly na hóry, na pisky, na vódy i lyshít' (im'ia).
Zabery satanú z chérpa, zpid chérpa,
I z mózku,
I z cholá, zpid cholá,
I bróvy,
I z ocheí, zpid ocheí,
I lytsá,
I z nósa, zpid nósa,
I hubyí,
I z zubéi, zpid zubéi,
I z iazyká,
I z hórla, zpid hórla,
I z króvy.
Zabery satanú,
Vidoshly na hóry, na pisky, na móre, na vódy.
Lyshít' (im'ia), iak i Máty na svit porodyla Tsár Bóha
I ochyshchy vid diiávola.
Sóntse právedne,
Zishly (im'ia) i Magdalynu svoímy zolotymy strúnamy (?)*
(Im'ia) zakladáv iomú (?)* zolotyi strói sóntsa
U vólos, u shkíru, v zhyly, i v krov, i v chérep, i v mózok,
V choló, v bróvy, v óchi, v nis, v bórodu, v lytsé,

34 Dai vlast'
35 ___?___, ___?___ * i veselís' na kózhdim króku
36 Búde chystá, iak tebé máty na svíta sotvoryla vid sého zla.**

* unclear in original handwritten text.
** the pronunciation of this incantation was given by Mrs. V. B.'s daughter, Mrs. N. D.

Translation--Incantation Seven

1 Oh, new moon, young prince,
2 Send a man to Mount Sinai.
3 In red clothes you are not to go there.
4 Take the knives far away, and approach (name)
5 And cut out Satan from the head
6 And cast him over mountains, over sands, over waters.
7 Take Satan from the hair, and from under the hair,
8 From the skin, and from under the skin,
9 From the veins, and from under the veins,
10 And from the blood.
11 Take Satan
12 And send him to the mountains, to the sands,
to the waters and let (name) alone..
13 Take Satan from the skull, and from under the skull,
14 And from the brain,
15 And from the forehead, and from under the forehead,
16 And from the brows,
17 And from the eyes, and from under the eyes,
18 And from the face,
19 And from the nose, and from under the nose,
20 And from the lips,
21 And from the teeth, and from under the teeth,
22 And from the tongue,
23 And from the throat, and from under the throat,
24 And from the blood.
25 Take Satan
26 And send him to the mountains, to the sands, to the sea and to the waters.
27 Let (name) alone like the Mother brought the Lord God into the world.
28 And cleanse him/her from the devil.
29 True sun,
30 Send (name) and Magdalene with your golden rays (?)
31 (Name) placed into him (?) the golden garb of the sun
32 Into the hair, the skin, the veins, the blood,
the skull, and the brain,
33 The forehead, the brows, the eyes, the nose, the chin, the face,
34 Give power.
35 ___?___ ___?___ and rejoice at every step..
36 You will be pure as when your mother conceived you before this evil.

b) Mrs. S. K.

Incantation One

Mrs. S. K. prayed her incantation entirely in English. With the exception of the last four lines, she recited the Lord's Prayer. She added her own personal touch to the Lord's Prayer by asking for Jesus' intercession in her healing.

1 Our Father, who art in Heaven,
2 Hallowed be Thy name.
3 Thy kingdom come,
4 Thy will be done
5 On Earth as it is in Heaven.
6 Give us this day our daily bread,
7 And forgive us our trespasses
8 As we forgive those who trespass against us.
9 And lead us not into temptation,
10 But deliver us from evil.
11 For Thine is the Kingdom and the power and the glory, for ever and ever.
12 Amen.
13 Help me as I will be pouring wax.
14 Help me, oh Jesus I pray with fear and love.
15 Just be with me and guide me,
16 And help me to remove the fear.

c) Mrs. D. M.

Mrs. D. M. used a total of three incantations. Like Mrs. V. B. and S. K., Mrs. D. M. prayed for intercession in her healing. After the afflicting fear was exorcised, it was commanded to go to roots, sands, banks, beyond forests, and bodies of water.

Incantation One

Incantation One was prayed over the head of the patient. A knife was held in the right hand while a bowl filled with water was held in the left.

1 Vo im'ia Otsá i Syna i Sviatóho Dúkha, amín.
2 Vo im'ia Otsá i Syna i Sviatóho Dúkha, amín.
3 Vo im'ia Otsá i Syna i Sviatóho Dúkha, amín.
4 IA prymívku promovliáiu ne samá sobów, a z
5 Hóspodom Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm z Mátir Bózhov.
6 Sviatyi Mykoláiu, ia strakh vidhoniáiu.
7 Tut tsému strakhóve ne huliáty, tut iomú bíle tílo ne sushyty,
8 Krov ne spyváty, smert ne zawdaváty.
9 Idy ty v korínnia, v pisky, v berehy,
10 Na lisy, na vódy.
11 Dai spókyi (im'ia) shoby voná spála,
12 Spochuvála, vid Hóspoda Bóha vóliu mála.
13 Vid méne prymívka, vid Bóha sviatóho, lik.
14 Nai tobí Boh pomaháie.

Translation--Incantation One

1 In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.
2 In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.
3 In the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, Amen.
4 I recite this incantation not by myself, but with
5 The Lord God Jesus Christ and the Mother of God.
6 St. Nicholas, I am casting off fear.
7 Here this fear should not play, here it should not dehydrate a white body,
8 Drink blood, nor impose death.
9 Go, you, to the roots, to the sands, to the banks,
10 To the forests and to the waters.
11 Grant peace so that (name) can sleep,
12 Rest, and have the will of the Lord God.
13 I give the incantation, and Holy God grants a cure.
14 May God help you.

Incantation Two

Incantation Two was prayed at the patient's chest. An exorcism sequence of numbers beginning with nine and ending at zero is an interesting feature of this second incantation.

1 IA prymívku promovliáiu ne samá sobóv, a z
2 Hóspodom Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm z Mátir Bózhov.
3 Sviatyi Mykoláiu, prymívku prymovliáiu.
4 SHóby ne málo mótse horíty, bolíty, shuliáty, shpygáty.
5 Tsei strakh mav dévik strakhív,
6 Viv ikh na dévik hotarív,[62]
7 Zachár ikh rozsyláty pustymy poliámy, krútymy doróhamy,
8 I z deviet'ókh, sy lyshylo visimókh,
9 Z visimókh, simókh,
10 Z simókh, shist'ókh,
11 Z shist'ókh, piet'ókh,
12 Z piet'ókh, shtyrókh,
13 Z shtyrókh, tr'okh,
14 Z tr'okh, dvokh,
15 Z dvokh, ne wodén.
16 Nai shchizáie, nai idé na lisy, na vódy,
17 I dast' spókyi irshénii, porozhénii (im'ia)
18 Vid méne prymívka, a vid Bóha sviatóho lik.

Translation--Incantation Two

1 I recite this incantation not by myself, but with the
2 Lord God Jesus Christ and the Mother of God.
3 St. Nicholas, I am reciting an incantation
4 So that it would not have the strength to burn, to hurt, to shoot pain, to stab.
5 This fear had nine fears,
6 And he lead them to nine herds
7 And he began to disperse them to empty fields and onto windy roads,
8 And from nine, eight remained.
9 And from eight, seven remained.
10 And from seven, six remained.
11 And from six, five remained.
12 And from five, four remained.
13 And from four, three remained.
14 And from three, two remained.
15 And from two, not even one.

16 May it disappear, may it go to the forests, and to the waters
17 And give peace to the baptized and born (name).
18 I give the incantation, and the Holy God grants a cure.

Incantation Three

Incantation Three was prayed at shoulder height behind the patient. This incantation contained elements of imitative magic. The fear was commanded to disperse and vanish like a cloud in the sky, like wax on a flame, and like salt in water.

1 IA prymovliáiu, ne samá sobóv, a z
2 Hóspodom Bóhom Isúsom KHrystóm z Mátir Bózhov.
3 Sviatyi Mykoláiu, ia strakh vidhoniáiu.
4 SHóby strakh ne mav mótse horíty, bolíty, shuliáty, shpygáty
5 Bíle tílo ne sushyty, krov ne spyváty smert ne zawdaváty.
6 Idy ty na lisy, na vódy, na pisky
7 Rozidysia, roztichysia, iak na nébi khmára
8 Na vohnévi visk, a na vodí sil
9 Vid (im'ia) irshénoi, porozhénoi
10 Vid méne prymívka a vid Bóha sviatóho lik.

Translation--Incantation Three

1 I utter this incantation not by myself but with the
2 Lord Jesus Christ and the Mother of God.
3 St. Nicholas, I am casting off fear.
4 So that the fear will not have strength to burn,to hurt, to shoot pain, to stab,
5 To dehydrate a white body; drink of blood, nor impose death.
6 Go, you, to the forests, to the waters, to the sands.
7 Disperse, vanish like a cloud in the sky,
8 Wax on a flame, salt on water,
9 From the baptized and born (name).
10 I give the incantation, and the Holy God a cure.

d) Mrs. J. T.

Incantation One

Mrs. J. T. poured wax only once per healing. She was unwilling to share her full incantation with the researcher. The following version of her incantation was written down by the researcher while she observed Mrs. J. T. pouring wax for a patient.

1 IA ne samá sobóiu,
2 A prechysta Díva i Hóspod' Boh
3 I vsi sviatí kotrí máiut syla,
4 Peredái chérez mói rúky
5 V ímeni (im'ia) i ta iohó/ii nedúha
6 To nai idé sobí na lisy, hóry,
7 A iohó/ii léshut
8 . . . (inaudible)
9 Za luhámy,
10 Pisky peresypáty,
11 Vódy perelyvaty
12 . . . (inaudible)

Translation--Incantation One

1 I, not by my own power,
2 But with the power of Virgin Mary and the Lord God
3 And all the saints which have power,
4 Give [this power] through my hands
5 In (name) and his/her infirmity
6 So let it go to the forests, and the mountains,
7 And leave him/her alone
8 . . .
9 Beyond the meadows,
10 To pour over sands,
11 And pour over waters
12 . . .

F) Comparison and Contrast of Informants' Incantations

Mrs. S. K, Mrs. D. M., Mrs. J. T., and Mrs. V. B. are the four healers whose incantations are extant. Mrs. S. K.'s incantation was the only one which was prayed in English, and for the most part, is the Lord's Prayer.

The following discussion has been typologized according to the following subheadings:

a) The Trinitarian Formula
b) Intercessors
c) The Word
d) The Exorcism.

a) The Trinitarian Formula

Before the four healers began their incantations, they crossed themselves three times and prayed, "In The Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit." Mrs. D.M. was the only healer who incorporated the trinitarian formula directly into her incantation. The other three healers separated this action from the incantation proper.

b) Intercessors

All four healers asked for the power of God to work through them in order that they might effect a cure. With the exception of Mrs. S. K., the healers also said that it was not by their sole power that they heal, but by a much higher power. In lines seven through eleven of Incantations One, Two, and Three, Mrs. V. B. invoked the help of the Lord God, Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and the 77 and one sister-stars to help her to walk,

to work, and to capture the fear of the patient. Mrs. V. B. was the only healer who included a pagan element in her entreaty. Mrs. S. K. prayed to Jesus to be with her, to guide her, and to help her remove the fear. Mrs. D. M. asked for the intercession of the Lord God, Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and Saint Nicholas. Mrs. J. T. prayed to the Virgin Mary, the Lord God, and all saints who had power to help her to heal.

Both Mrs. V. B. and Mrs. D. M. ended their incantations with reassurances that, while they were actualizing the incantation, the cure itself came from God: Mrs. V. B said "Vid mene promova, vid Boha falos (2X). Vid mene lik, a vid Boha vik." [I say the incantation, from God in His voice (2X). I give the cure, and God gives life.] Mrs. D. M. also said that God grants the cure "Vid mene prymivka, vid Boha sviatoho lik. Nai tobi Boh pomahaie." [I give the incantation, and Holy God grants a cure. May God help you.]

c) The Word

Mrs. V. B. and Mrs. D. M. both poured wax three times--once over the head of the patient, once in the chest area, and once behind the patient or at the patient's back. The incantations they used for each of the three pourings were quite similar. For example, Mrs. V. B. referred to the head, the heart, or the back of her patient--depending on where she was pouring the wax. Except for the variations necessary to accommodate these different locations, the rest of the incantation remained the same from one repetition to the next. Mrs. V. B. also had additional incantations which she recited while washing, fumigating, or blowing sickness away from the patient.

d) The Exorcism

With the exception of Mrs. S. K., all three healers conjured the evil power and then sent it away to some far unknown place, away from the patient. Mrs. V. B. commanded

the fear or evil force to go "over mountains and over the sea; where man does not walk; where roosters do not crow; where the wind does not blow; and where the sun does not warm." She exorcised the evil to a place where man did not and could not possibly set foot, commanding it to go to the mountains, to the sands, to the sea, and to the waters. Mrs. J. T. demanded that the evil spirit leave the body for the forest and for the mountains. She added the meadows as an additional location. Mrs. D. M., in her first incantation, sent the evil spirit to the roots and to the sand, to the banks, to the forests, and to the waters.

In forcing the spirits to leave the body for remote and faraway destinations, the healers alluded to additional hindrances designed to make the passage back to the patient more difficult. Mrs. V. B. commanded the evil spirits to turn over mountains, to sift through sands, to pour through water. The sifting, pouring, breaking, and turning over of natural phenomena force the spirits to overcome insurmountable obstacles. The patient is protected because the evil spirits are kept away.

The exorcism of evil from specific body parts, blood or joints was common to several of the incantations used by the healers in this study. Mrs. V. B.'s first incantation is an excellent example of this: she exorcised evil from the brain right through to the heart, to the liver, and to the spleen. Mrs. D. M. commanded fear to leave the body and blood of her patient.

G) Other Slavic Incantations

Similarities can be found between the formulae which the informants uttered and incantations used for other cures within the realm of Slavic folk medicine.

The moon and other celestial bodies are common elements in Ukrainian and Slavic folklore. In Incantation Seven, Mrs. V. B. evoked the power of the new moon to effect a cure. In the following Russian incantation, relief from a sore tooth is sought by enlisting the help of the moon:

Mesiats, ty Mesiats-serebrenye rozhki, zlatyia tvoi nozhki! Soidi ty, Mesiats, snimi moiu zubnuiu skorb', unesi bol' pod oblaka.[63]

[Moon, oh silver-horned Moon, you have golden feet! Come out, oh Moon, and take away the pain in my tooth, and carry it up to the clouds.]

The power of water against evil forces is well-documented in ethnographic literature dealing with folk medicine. Water is invoked to wash the Evil Eye to far away places where, as mentioned previously, it would be difficult for a human to walk. While washing her patient, Mrs. V. B. summoned the water to wash away the fear, sickness, and nerves which had been plaguing the patient. A similar Ukrainian incantation stressing the importance of water follows. In this example, the water washes away the Evil Eye.

Pomahaiesh, voda iavlennaia; ochyshchaiesh ty, voda iavlennaia.
I luha, i bereha, i seredynu. Ochyshchai ty, voda iavlennaia, moho
porozhdennoho ot prozora podumana, i pohadana,
I vstriechena, i vodianoho i vytrianoho, i zhynots'koho,
I muzhyts'koho, i parubots'koho, i divots'koho. Piidit' vy, uroky,
Na soroky, na luha, na ochereta, na bolota za moria.[64]

[You help, oh you water before me; you cleanse, oh you water before me,
The meadows, and the banks, and the interior. Cleanse, oh water before
me,
This baptized person from the Evil Eye and made up and imagined
thoughts,
And called upon from water and from the wind, and from woman,
And from man, and from boy, and from girl.

Go you, the Evil Eye,

With the magpies, to the meadows, to the reeds, to bogs over the sea.]

The following incantation calls upon water, referring to it as water from the river Jordan, to cure *neduha*, or a general state of sickness. Mrs. V. B.'s water incantation also referred to water as being "*iordans'ka*" [from the river Jordan].The ending of this incantation is very similar to that of Mrs. V. B.'s formula (see p. 96). As in Mrs. V. B.'s incantation , the colors white, red (rosy), and yellow are featured.

Vodychko-Iordanychko!
Vlyvaiesh luhy-berehy,
Korinie, bile kaminie,
Umyi seho rshchenoho, chisto vchinenoho
Vid hnivu, nenavysty i vid usiakoho lykha.
IA tebe vizuvaiu, ia tebe vidklykaiu!
Idy sobi v more!
Tam v pisku sobi hrai, kolachi sobi iizh,
Vyno sobi pyi!
Tu ne maiesh sobi dila.
Do biloho tila, do rumianoho lytsia,
ZHovtoi kosty skypaty-lupaty,
Span'y vidbyraty, idu vidoimaty
I vik korotaty![65]

[Oh, water of the Jordan!
You wash the meadows and banks,
Roots, and white rocks,

Wash this baptized made whole
Of anger, hatred and from all evil.
I conjure you, I summon you!
Go into the sea!
There you may play in the sand, eat *kolachi* (ritual breads)
And drink wine!
Here, you have no business
To a white body, to a rosy face,
A yellow bone to peel and strip,
To take away sleep, to arrest an appetite
And a lifespan to shorten!]

It is common to find the names of saints in Slavic incantations. Mrs. D. M. began her Wax Ceremony incantation by praying to St. Nicholas. The following formula, recited to cure cataracts, also refers to this same saint. The incantation is to be repeated three times. After each repetition, the healer spits in the eye(s) of the afflicted.

Ikhav Sviatyi Mykolai na bilim koni
Do biloi tserkvy;
A v bilii tserkvi
Na bilim prestoli--
Presviataia Diva Mariia.[66]

[St. Nicholas was riding a white horse,
To a white church
And in the white church,
On a white altar--

Was the Holy Virgin Mary.]

Numbers are important in Slavic incantations. The following cure for sore eyes contains the same run of numbers from nine to zero that was found in Mrs. D. M.'s incantation. Nine burning coals are cast into a bowl of water when the following formula is recited.

Iordana vodychko, Krysta pana babychko!
Idesh ty horamy, dolynamy, pustatyniamy,
Omyvash ty pisok, kaminnia, shytko stvorinia,
Omyi zhe ty i mene, raba zhyvushchoho (im'ia).
Proshu tia raz, i druhyi raz i treti raz;
Omyi zhe ty tykh deviat uhliv, kotri byli a sut:
Z deviat--osem,
Z osmokh--shidem,
Z shidmokh--shist,
Zo shest'okh--piat,
Z piat'okh--shtyry,
Zo shtyriokh--try,
Z triokh--dva,
Z dvokh--ieden,
Z iednoho bodai ne byl ani ieden.
T'fu! T'fu! T'fu![67]

[Oh, water of the Jordan, grandmother* of the Lord Christ!
You go by way of mountains, valleys, and barren land;
You wash sand, rocks, and all creation.

Wash me, the living servant (name).

I beseech you once, a second time, a third time;

Wash these nine coals which are here:

From nine--eight,

From eight--seven,

From seven--six,

From six--five,

From five--four,

From four--three,

From three--two,

From two--one,

From one let there not be a single one!

(The healer blows three times)].

* The meaning of *babychko* is not clear.

Mrs. V. B.'s first, second, third and seventh incantations contained passages in which sickness was drawn out of various body parts. The following incantation parallels Mrs. V. B.'s incantations. It is interesting to note the inclusion of St. George in the formula:

Pomoshch moia ot Hospoda sotvorshoho nebo i zemliu.

Ikhav sv. IUrii na voronykh koniakh, na chotyr'okh kolesakh.

Koly rozbihlysia kolesa, rozkotylysia po syn'omu moriu, po chystomu poliu.

IA izhoniaiu bil'mo ot khreshchenoho raba bozhoho (imrek)

Vyhovoriuiu v kostei, v moshchei,

V tisnykh plechei, v synikh pechenei,
Iz buinoi holovy, v chutkykh ushei,
Iz shchyroho zhyvota iz (...?) sertsa,
Z horychoi krovy, z zhovtykh kostei,
Z solodkoho mochu.
U raba bozhoho (imrek) sl'oza iz oka i bil'mo ot oka![68]

[My help comes from the Lord, Creator of Heaven and Earth.
St. George was riding on four black horses with four wheels
When the wheels fell apart, and rolled over the blue sea and over barren fields.
I drive out the cataract from the baptized servant of God (Name).
I conjure in the bones, in the body,
In the tight shoulders and in the blue liver,
From the strong head, in the sensitive ears,
From the sincere stomach, from the (...?) heart,
From hot blood, from yellow bones, and from sweet urine.
The servant of God (name) a tear from the eye and the cataract
from the eye!]

The following incantation is used to cure *hostets'* [rheumatism]. It is uttered in conjunction with the burning and subsequent extinguishing of nine coals. As in Wax Ceremony incantations, the formula contains references to body parts. It also incorporates references to various animals. The incantation is repeated three times. After each repetition, the healer insufflates the patient.

Bozhe pomozhy myni prymovyty,

Use zle zakl'ysty i zamovyty.

Khot' ies bol'ychka, khot' ies skusov,

Khot' ies hostets' sukhyi, khot', hnylyi,

IE vsi tsi horesty-bolesty,

Koliuchi-boliuchi,

Vizyvaiu, viklykaiu:

Z holovy, zpid holovy,

Z timyi, zpid timyi,

Z ochyi, zpid ochyi

Z nosa, zpid nosa,

Z rota, zpid rota,

Z shyi, zpid shyi,

Iz vukh, iz slukh,

Iz potylytsi, zpid potylytsi,

Z plechyi, zpid plechyi,

Z hrudyi, zpid hrudyi,

Z pechinok, zpid pechinok,

Z kyshok, zpid kyshok,

Z simdes'yt' sustavok,

Z kryzhiv, zpid kryzhiv,

Z stehon, zpid stehon,

Iz kolin, zpid kolin,

Is lytok, zpid lytok,

Iz kotykiv, zpid kotykiv,

Z plesniv, zpid plesniv,

Z pal'tsiv, zpid pal'tsiv,

Z pidoshviv, zpid pidoshviv.

IA vse zle, vse lykhe vizyvaiu, viklykaiu,

Iz seho khreshchenoho, porozhenoho, molytvennoho (imrek)!

Idy sobi tam, de psy ne dobrikhuiut,

De kury ne dopivaiut, de liude ne buvaiut,

De sy sluzhby ne pravyi!

Daiu tobi kurku z kur'yty,

Kitky, z kot'yty,

Svyniu z poros'yty,

Kachku z kach'yty,

Husky z hus'yty!

Idy sobi, bery sobi, nesy sobi

V syni moria, v hlyboki potoky.

Tam ty budesh piskom peresypaty,

U vodi sy kupaty,

V lyst sy zavyvaty!

V hiliu sy kolyshy,

A seho khreshchenoho, porozhenoho, molytvennoho,

CHystoho v zdoroviu lyshy!

Iik t'y naishlo rano, rano t'y vidsylaiu,

Iik t'y naishlo v obidy, v obidy t'y vidsylaiu,

Iik t'y naishlo v poludny, v poludny t'y vidsylaiu,

Iik t'y naishlo d'vecheru, v vechir t'y vidsylaiu,

Iik t'y naishlo v zmerk, u zmerk t'y vidsylaiu,

Iik t'y naishlo v zavl'yhy, v zavl'yhy t'y vidsylaiu,

Iik t'y naishlo dos'vita, dos'vita t'y vidsylaiu.

IA tebe vidsylaiu pyit'my pal'ts'ymy,

SHestov dolonev t'y zaklynaiu.
Iik t'y vid teper zdohoniu,
Zolotymy mechamy tobi holovu zdoimu;
Budu t'y psamy pervakamy tvoryty,
Kotamy pervakamy draty,
Sokyromy rubaty, koszmy kosyty, serpamy sh'yty,
Hrabl'ymy rozhribaty, viinykamy rozmitaty!
TSur z khaty! Pek ty! Skopai sy isstrat'sy;
Motsy ne maiesh, krasy ne spyvaiesh,
Vidkys pryishov, tudy sy nazad obertai!
Ne moim dukhom, ale Bozhym!
Nai Bih dast na vik, tai na lik!
Skachy zdorov![69]

[Lord help me to recite the incantation,
To conjure and to curse all evil.
Though you are a pain, though there you are a whooping cough,
Though you are dry and rotten rheumatism,
You are all of this pain and suffering, prickly and sore,
I conjure and implore
From the head, and from under the head.
From the crown of the head, and from under the crown of the head,
From the eyes, and from under the eyes,
From the nose, and from under the nose,
From the mouth, and from under the mouth,
From the neck, and from under the neck,

From the ears, and from the hearing,

From the nape, and from under the nape,

From the shoulders, and from under the shoulders, From the chest, and from under the chest,

From the liver, and from under the liver,

From the guts, and from under the guts,

From 70 joints,

From the lower back, and from under the lower back, From the thighs, and from under the thighs,

From the knees, and from under the knees,

From the calves, and from under the calves,

From the ankles, and from under the ankles,

From the middle of the feet, and from under the middle of the feet,

From the toes, and from under the toes,

From the soles, and from under the soles.

I conjure and implore all evil, all that is bad,

From this baptized, born, and blessed (name)!

Go there where dogs do not finish barking,

Where cocks do not finish crowing, where man does not go,

Where church services are not conducted!

I give you a hen with chicks,

A cat with kittens, a sow with piglets,

A duck with ducklings,

A goose with goslings!

Go away, and take these things with you,

And carry them with you to the blue seas, to deep streams.

There you will pour through sand,

Bathe in water, and wrap yourself in a leaf!

On a branch you will swing,

And you will leave in health this baptized, born, blessed, and pure person!

If you were found in the morning, in the morning I send you away.

If you were found at noon, at noon I send you away.

If you were found in the afternoon, in the afternoon I send you away.

If you were found before evening, in the evening I send you away.

If you were found at dusk, at dusk I send you away.

If you were found before bedtime, before bedtime I send you away.

If you were found at dawn, at dawn I send you away.

I send you away with five fingers,

And with the sixth, the palm, I conjure you.

Now when I catch you,

I will cut off your head with golden swords;

I will hunt you, send firstborn dogs upon you,

Scratch you with firstborn cats,

With axes I chop you, with scythes I will cut you, and with sickles I will swath you,

With rakes I will rake you, and with brooms sweep you away!

Away from the house! Begone! May you be buried and disappear;

There you will have drink, merriment and all the good things in life.]

The following incantation, also used to send away fear, alludes to both animals and colors.

Perepolokh, perepoloshyshche!
Bat'kyv, materyn, cholovichyi,
ZHinochyi, izliakanyi, istrakhnenyi
I kuriachyi, i husiachyi, i
Skots'kyi, i kins'kyi;
I vyklykaiu od tvoikh ruk,
Od tvoikh nih, od rusoi kosy,
Od karykh ochei, od biloho tila,
Od shchyroho sertsia,
Od narozhenoi, Molytvianoi, khreshchenoi Marii. 71

[Fear, oh great fear!
You are of father, mother, man,
Woman, of fright, of horror,
Of chicken and of goose and
Of cattle and of horse;
And I adjure you from your hands,
From your legs, from a red braid,
And from hazel eyes, from a white body
And from an earnest heart,
From the born, Blessed, and baptized Mary.]

The incantation below is very similar to Mrs. V.B.'s. An added feature is the inclusion of animals. The verb "to pour" appears several times.

Hospody mylostyvyi, pomozhy meni!
Maty bozha, i stan' meni u pomochi
Sei perepolokh vylyvaty
Iz ii holovon'ky,
Iz ii ruchok, iz ii nizhok,
Iz ii pal'tsiv, iz ii sustavtsiv,
Od ii semydesiat sustav.
Ne ia ioho vylyvaiu, ne ia vyklykaiu:
Sam Hospod' vylyvav i vyklykav
I Matir Bozha v pomochi stoiala,
Sy perepolokhy odbirala,
Na Dunai, na more zsylala.
Na Dunai na mori simdesiat iazykiv strepechuchys',
Sviatyi misiats' na nebi i Matir Bozha na zemli,
I sy perepolokhy zbirala i vitriani,
I khlopiachi, i cholovichi,
I vykhrovi, i blyskovi, i hromovi,
I koniachi, i voliachi, i sobachi,
I husiachi, i kuriachi, i hadiuchi,
I zhabiachi, i potaini, i khlopiachi, i zhinochi;
I ne ia iikh vyzyvala,
I ne ia svoim dukhom podymala--
Sam Hospod' vyzyvav i svoim dukhom

Podymav od zhovtoi kosti,
Od chervonoi krovi, od ii holosu,
Od ii volosu i od rozhdenoi,
Molytvianoi i khreshchenoi raby
Bozhoi Marii. Amin' [72].

[Gracious Lord, help me!
Mother of God, help me
To pour forth this fear from her head,
From her hands, from her legs,
From her digits, from her joints,
From her 70 joints.
It is not me that is pouring or conjuring:
The Lord himself has poured and conjured
And the Mother of God stood by and helped
To remove the fear
And to send it away to the Danube and to the sea.
On the Danube, on the sea, 70 tongues were trembling,
The holy moon is in the sky and the Mother of God is on the Earth,
She gathered the fear of the winds,
And of lads and men,
And of whirlwinds, and of lightening bolts, and of thunder,
And of horses, and of oxen, and of dogs,
And of geese, and of chickens and of snakes,
And of frogs, and of hidden ones,
And of men, and of women,
And it was not I who conjured,

And it was not me with my own spirit that blew (away the evil)--
The Lord himself conjured and with his own spirit
Blew (evil) away from the yellow bone,
From red blood, from her voice,
From her hair and from the born,
Blessed and baptized servant of God, Mary. Amen.]

H. Syncretism: Duality and the Wax Ceremony

At the helm of healing are both deity and cosmic power. The Wax Ceremony healer is a master of duality; she is a paragon of symbiosis. In the assumptive world of patient and healer, the dichotomy of heaven and the underworld have been interwoven into magic and power, thus creating a syncretic worldview.

In examining the Wax Ceremony, one finds many ritual actions which coexist in syncretic harmony with Christian faith and magical belief. This syncretism is marked both in the ritual and in the accompanying incantations used by the healers.

a) Syncretism in Ritual

With the exception of "praying" and making the sign of the cross over the patient, water or wax, few other actions in the Wax Ceremony could be considered Christian or related to the Church and its teachings. Acts like insufflation or washing the patient can be considered pre-Christian in origin. They were eventually incorporated into Church usage and their purposes were redefined. Using beeswax because bees are smart and talk to God, or ribbon markers and altar cloths, which have been steeped in prayer and blessings because they have been in church, are also very pagan in concept and origin.

In Table 3 (see p. 126), a classification of Christian and non-Christian actions which are carried out by Wax Ceremony healers is given. A category for rituals which were originally pagan but which were incorporated into the Church over time is also included. It should be noted that these categories are loosely defined, and many areas of overlap exist. Categories such as insufflation or incensing are difficult to define or categorize. Purely speaking, all of the rituals including the various incantations associated with the Wax Ceremony could be labelled as pagan in origin.

Table 3

Incorporation of Christian and Pagan Elements in the Wax Ceremony

Christian	Incorporated	Pagan
-crossing oneself before beginning	-insufflation	-facing east
-praying for intercession from God, Virgin Mary, or the saints	-washing	-using tools such as knives, rocks, or combs
-no healing on Sundays or church holidays	-use of holy water	-addition of salt or garlic to healing water
	-use of Easter candles	-specific healing days or times
	-use of holy or church cloths	-associating special times of the day with magical powers
	-fumigating (incensing)	-reading/ interpreting wax figures
	-using beeswax (bees talk to God)	-disposing of healing water at a crossroad or where no human foot steps
	-reference to the number three or multiples of three	-making wishes for health and happiness
	-importance and power associated with colors	-wearing protective amulets
	-donations or payment for the healer's services redirected to the local church	-conjuring

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b) Syncretism in Word

Nowhere is syncretism more obvious than in the formulae which are uttered by the healers. The classification of Christian and pagan elements as given in Table 6 only takes into account the incantations used by informants interviewed for this study.

Whether the Wax Ceremony is a religious or parareligious act seems to perplex neither healer nor patient. Both believe that the healer is merely an intercessor between the patient and God, who ultimately grants a cure and the subsequent restoration to health.

On the other hand, the Church's view appears quite different. In the Trebnyk [Sacramentary of the Eastern Church], for example, wizards and soothsayers are admonished for using wax and lead and for fortune-telling. Believers are warned not to engage the services of these charlatans. The Church clearly condemns these healers and their craft.[73]

Table 4

Syncretic Elements in the Word

Healer	Christian	Pagan
V. B.	-reference to the Lord God, Jesus Christ, and Virgin Mary	-exorcism of fear from body parts and joints
	-naming of water "Jordan water"	-prayers to 77 and one stars
	-reference to Mount Sinai	-expulsion of sickness and evil to far away places where no human will go
		-references to water, fire, garlic
		-praying to the moon
		-reference to evil spirits
S. K.	-prays the Lord's Prayer	
D. M.	-Father, Son, Holy Spirit three times	-expulsion of evil to far away places where no human foot will go
	-reference to the Lord God, Jesus Christ, the Mother of God, and St. Nicholas	-use of numbers (nine - zero) to exorcise evil
J. T.	-reference to Virgin Mary, the Lord God, and all those saints who have power	-expulsion of evil to far away places where no human foot will go

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I. Healer Titles

In the Wax Ceremony, the healer is usually a woman. The nomenclature of these healers in Ukrainian is quite extensive:

baba [old woman]

babka [old woman, diminutive]

babtsia [old woman, diminutive]

babunia [old woman, diminutive]

baba-povytukha [old woman, midwife]

baila [murmurer]

chaklunka [conjurer]

charivnytsia [conjurer]

charnytsia [conjurer]

chudesnytsia [wonder-worker]

koldunytsia [sorceress]

obavnytsia [conjurer]

potvornytsia [seeress]

proklinnytsia [witch]

prymivnytsia [sorceress]

sheptukha [murmurer]

starukha [old woman]

starushka [old woman]

vid'ma [wise woman]

vidunka [wise woman/witch]

vishchunytsia [wise woman]

vorozhka [witch]

vorozhbytka [witch]

vorozhylia [witch]

vydunytsia [wise woman]

zhena-vorozhylia [witch]

znakha [wise woman]

znakhurka [wise woman]

zolotarykha [golden conjurer]

These appellations are loosely translated and for the most part, are used interchangeably.[74] They have all been ascribed to female healers, but in the Wax Ceremony, the most commonly used is "*baba* ." The "*baba* " holds power because she has formulae--often very ancient ones-- which she uses to effect healing.

Table 5

Patient Profile

The approximate age, sex, and profession of the patients interviewed for this study in 1986 are given in the following table.

Name of Patient	Interview No*	Sex	Age	Profession
T. D.	1	M	30-	Ph.D. student
L. N.	2	M	30-	White-collar
O. S.	3	F	45+	Blue-collar
H. K.	4	F	55+	Housewife
R. B.	7	M	40+	White-collar
E. B.	8	M	45+	White-collar
B. B.	10	M	70+	Retired
D. B.	16	M	50+	White-collar
S. B.	16	F	45+	Housewife
M. B.	16	F	30-	White-collar
V. J.	17	F	35+	Housewife
V. M.	18	M	25-	M.A. student
S. W.	19	F	40+	Housewife
A. Y.	20	F	60+	Housewife
Vi. B.	21	F	35+	Housewife
S. N.	22	F	55+	Housewife
Anon.	23	F	55+	White-collar
H. S.	24	M	35+	Artist
H. B.	25	F	70-	Housewife
O. H.	26	F	50+	White-collar
N. D.	28	F	50+	Housewife
M. K.	28	F	60+	Housewife
J. B.	29	M	70+	Retired

*Interviews not central to this study were not transcribed. Thus, numbering in this table is not sequential.

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Notes

1. Mr. E. B., Interview Number 8, pp. 42-44.
2. Mrs. V. J., Interview Number 17, p. 111.
3. Mrs. H. K., Interview Number 4, p. 17.
4. Ibid., p. 16.
5. Mr. V. M., Interview Number 18, pp. 121-122.
6. Mrs. O. H., Interview Number 26, p. 169.
7. Mrs. H. B., Interview Number 25, p. 163.
8. Ibid., pp. 158-159.
9. Ibid., p. 164.
10. Mrs. S. K., Interview Number 9, p. 53.
11. Ibid., p. 54.
12. Ibid., p. 55.
13. Mrs. V. B., Interview Number 5, p. 26.
14. Mrs. S. N., Interview Number 22, p. 149.
15. Mrs. S. B., Interview Number 16, p. 96.
16. Mrs. J. T., Interview Number 11, p. 73.
17. Mrs. D. M., Interview Number 27, p. 170.
18. Ibid.
19. Mrs. K. W., Interview Number 15, p. 87.
20. Mrs. J. T., Interview Number 11, p. 73.
    Mrs. M. H., Interview Number 13, p. 79.
    Mrs. S. K., Interview Number 9, p. 54.
    Mrs. K. W., Interview Number 15, p. 85.
21. Mrs. H. B., Interview Number 25, p. 163.
22. Mr. B. B., Interview Number 10, p. 64.
23. Mr. D. M., Interview Number 27, p. 179.

24. R. B. Klymasz, Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition (New York: Arno Press, 1980), p. 65.

25. Mr. R. B., Interview Number 7, pp. 38-39.

26. Mrs. H. B., Interview Number 25, p. 162.

27. D. Lepkyi, "Pro narodni zabobony" in Zoria, Vols. 13-15 (1884), p. 106.

28. A. Bogdanovich, Sbornik svedenii o poltavskoi gubernii, Vol. 2 (Poltava, 1877), p. 280.

29. One of the healers, Mr. P. G., was suspicious of my motives, and consequently refused to be interviewed. However, I was able to observe him perform the Wax Ceremony on one of the patient-informants. For notes taken during that session, see Appendix G, pp. 80-82, housed in the Folklore Archives in the Department of Slavic and East European Studies at the University of Alberta. Mrs. M. H. was not in favor of an interview on tape but she was willing to speak to me. Again, I had an informant come with me and observed Mrs. M. H. pour wax for her. Notes for this interview are also found in Appendix G in the Folklore Archives. Mrs. J. T. would also not agree to an interview on tape. However, she, too, was agreeable to speaking with the researcher and to have the researcher watch her pour wax.

30. Mrs. V. B. (the central healer in this study) and Mrs. M. H. have both recently passed away.

31. Mrs. J. T. was not willing to "give up" her entire incantation for fear of losing her power to heal, but she did tell me parts of it.

32. For Mrs. S. K.'s complete prayer, see p. 101 of this study.

33. Ibid., p. 57.

34. Mrs. K. W., Interview Number 15, pp. 82, 86, 90.

35. Ibid., p. 83.

36. Ibid.

37. Mrs. V. B., Interview Number 6, p. 34.

38. Ibid., p. 29.

39. Mrs. V. J., Interview Number 17, p. 111.

40. Mrs. S. B. and Miss M. B., Interview Number 16, pp. 103-104.

Mrs. V. B. sometimes wore this cloth amulet around her neck. Informants were not clear as to where and how it was worn.

41. Mrs. N. D. and Mrs. M. K., Interview Number 28, p. 180.

42. See Photographic Plate, p. 174, for a photograph of Mrs. V. B.'s knife and associated tools.

43. KH. Vovk, Studii z ukrains'koi etnohrafii ta antropolohii (New York: Howerla, 1976), p. 167.

44. W. R. S. Ralston, The Songs of the Russian People (London: Ellis and Green, 1872), p. 360.

45. Wayland Hand, Magical Medicine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 4.

46. Ibid., p. 5.

47. Etnograficheskoe obozrenie, Vols. 40-41, No. 1-2 (1899), p. 80.

48. Ibid., p. 83.

49. Ibid., p. 60.

50. "Nravy, obychai i obraz zhizni" in Moskovskoi telegraf, Vols. 10-11, No. 39 (1831), p. 367.

51. W. G. Black, Folk Medicine: A Chapter in the History of Culture (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), p. 90.

52. Mrs. V. J., Interview Number 17, p. 112.

53. Etnograficheskoe obozrenie , op. cit., p. 82.

54. R. D. Drazheva, "Obriady, sviazannye s okhranoi zdorovia, v prazdnike letnego solntsestoianiia u vostochnykh i iuzhnykh slavian" in Sovetskaia etnografiia, Vol. 6 (1973), p. 114.

55. Volodomyr Kubijovyc, ed., "The Spiritual Culture of the People" in Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia, Vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p. 343.

56. Ibid., p. 203.

57. C. J. S. Thompson, Magic and Healing (London: Rider and Company, 1946), pp. 162-164.

58. Z. Boltarovych, Narodne likuvannia ukraintsiv karpat kintsia XIX-pochatku XX stolittia (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1980), p. 112.

59. In the incantation below, W. Black lists two similar spells to Mrs. D. M.'s used in Cornwall, England, and contain running numbers:

> Underneath this hazelin mote,
> There's a braggoty worm with a speckled throat,
> Nine double is he;
> Now from nine double to eight double,
> And from eight double to seven double,
> And from seven double to six double,
> And from six double to five double,
> And from five double to four double,

And from four double to three double,
And from three double to two double,
And from two double to one double,
And from one double to no double,
No double hath he!

This charm for the bite of an adder is similar in form:

Bradgty, bradgty, bradgty (3 times)
Nine before eight,
Eight before seven,
Seven before six,
Six before five,
Five before four,
Four before three,
Three before two,
Two before one,
And one before every one.

W. G. Black, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

60. C. J. S. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

61. In Incantation Two, the healer substitutes the term *slyzanok* [joints] for *sustavok* [spleen] in line 50. This is inconsistent with what she does in Incantations One and Three.

62. When the informant was asked for the meaning of *hotar(iv)*, she loosely defined it as something like a hilltop.

63. A. Afanasev, Poeticheskiia vozzreniia slavian na prirodu, Vol. 1 (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), p. 418.

64. N. Arandarenko, Zapiski o poltavskoi gubernii (Poltava: Gubernskii Pravleniia, 1849), p. 231.

65. Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk, Vol. 59 (1895), pp. 66-69.

66. A. V. Bogdanovich, Sbornik svedenii o Poltavskoi gubernii, Vol. 2, (Poltava: 1877), p. 278.

67. M. Mushynka, Z hlybyny vikiv (Bratislava: Slovak Pedagogical Publishers, 1967), p. 35.

68. P. Efimenko, ed., Sbornik malorossiskikh zaklynaii, Vol. 88 (1874), p. 9.

69. V. SHukhevych, Hutsul'shchyna (L'viv: Zahal'na Drukarnia, 1908), pp. 246-247.

70. V. Miloradovich, "Narodnaia meditsina v Lubenskom uezde, Poltavs'koi gubernii" in Kievskaia Starina (1900), pp. 391-393.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

73. "Rite of Confession" in Trebnyk, (Kiev), p. 24.

74. Additional information about the etymology of these appellations is given by W. Ralston, op. cit., pp. 378, 379. Ralston says that *viedun* [wizard] and *vied'ma* [witch] come from *vied*, which is derived from the Sanskrit *vid*, meaning knowledge. In Ukrainian, the noun *visti*, meaning news; the adjective *vidomyi*, meaning known or well-known; and the verb *povidomyty*, meaning to make known are from the same derivative. Similarly, *znakhar/ka* can be traced to the root *znat*, meaning to know. Ralston says that the etymology of *koldun/koldun'ia* is not understood by scholars. He offers Professor Sreznievsky's theory that a *koldun* was one who made sacrifices to the gods. He points out that in Croatian, *kaldovati* is a verb which means to sacrifice. A priest is known as *kaldovanets* .

The name *charovnik/charovnitsa* is derived from *char*, meaning a spell.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

A. Canadian Adaptations

The Wax Ceremony has been very well-preserved and today is practiced in virtually the same fashion as it has been for centuries. While the Wax Ceremony remains steeped in tradition and authentic in form, it has nonetheless undergone some adaptations. Some changes have occurred in order to better suit conditions as they have evolved in Alberta. Other changes seem to have emerged because each successive generation reinterprets the importance and meaning of the Wax Ceremony. It is the malleability of the Wax Ceremony that has contributed to its endurance and survival.

Traditionally, the water used in the Wax Ceremony was drawn from a natural "living" source or *zhyve dzherelo* such as a well, stream or river. While Ukrainian Canadians lived in rural communities or on farms, they could access well water or running water more easily. In the early years of pioneer life in Canada, healers would have had their own well water. As they developed their homesteads or moved to urban areas, modern conveniences such as running water replaced hand-drawn well water. When asked about well water versus tap water, all the healers interviewed for this study admitted that the water for the Wax Ceremony should come from a well. However, they all believed that the water they got from their taps was as effective for curing as well water.

When water was drawn from a well, it was very cold. Several healers said that well water was ice-cold and therefore allowed the molten wax to congeal much more quickly. Mrs. V. B. sometimes chose to add ice cubes to her water in order to chill it to the coldest temperature possible.

Water for the Wax Ceremony was traditionally drawn before sunrise. Of the seven healers interviewed, Mrs. K. W. was the only one who made a point of drawing water from the tap before the sun came up. She believed this water had the greatest curative powers. While several of the other healers had heard of the importance of drawing water before sunrise, none of them practiced this aspect of the Wax Ceremony ritual.

Most of the healers had heard about days which were specifically reserved for men or women. Several of them still took these days into account. However, Mrs. V. B. and Mr. P. G. were in such demand that they ignored the concept of special days so that they could comply with all the requests they received for their services. In Ukraine, it was not uncommon for every village to have at least one healer who was versed in the Wax Ceremony. Here in Alberta, however, healers are in short supply while the demand remains high. As a result, the concept of designated healing days is sometimes ignored so that healers can treat as many patients as possible.

Most of the healers interviewed for this study claimed that it was more effective to perform the Wax Ceremony in the morning, before 12 noon. Again, in order to make themselves as accessible as possible, all of the healers except Mrs. J. T. performed their healing throughout the day. In emergencies, Mrs. V. B. was known to pour wax at night.

Table 6

Canadian Adaptations in the Wax Ceremony

Component	Tradition	Adaptation
Water	-Drawn from a well or natural running source	-Poured from a tap
Water Temperature	-Naturally cold or frozen	-Add ice cubes
Time of Water	-Drawn before sunrise	-Pour at time of healing
Specific Days	-Men's and Women's Days	-Any day but Sunday
Wax Pouring Time	-Before noon	-Any time of day
Wax Formations	-Interpreted	-Sometimes interpreted
Wax Type	-Beeswax	-Beeswax or paraffin wax
Payment	-Food stuffs, goods or money	-Money, occasional gifts

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Congealed wax formations were traditionally interpreted or read. While some of the healers continued to include the reading as part of their ceremony, several claimed to be unable to understand what the various figures stood for. When patients and healers were asked how important the interpretation of the congealed wax figures was, most said that it was not an essential part of the ceremony. The only exception was Mrs. V. B., who placed much emphasis on deciphering the hardened wax figures. Clearly, patient and healer alike felt that the energy--the entire experience--of the Wax Ceremony provided the cure, and not any one component part of it.

Beeswax was plentiful in Ukraine. Most villages would have had their own beekeepers, and beeswax was readily available for wax pouring. While beeswax is available in Alberta, it is less common than it would have been in Ukraine, especially in urban centres. While the healers preferred to use beeswax, paraffin wax was sometimes mixed into the beeswax if the latter was unavailable or hard to come by.

In Ukraine, food was often used as payment for healing services. In the early years of Ukrainian settlement in Alberta, money was not a readily available commodity. Patients often opted to pay for healers' services with food from their farms: eggs, cream, or chickens were common examples of acceptable currency. Money, however, could also be given. Several healers said they could remember that the acceptable amount was from five to twenty cents. While today's healers still receive gifts, money has become the most common form of payment.

In Table 5 of this study, a list of the sex, the approximate age, and the profession of each patient is given (see p. 131). The informants ranged in age from 25 to 70 and had varied backgrounds. Some were students, some were farmers or housewives, and others were highly-paid white-collar professionals. There appeared to be no correlation between a professional background, age, or sex and belief in the Wax Ceremony.

All of the patients firmly believed in the powers that their respective healers claimed to possess. They were convinced that their healers were working with the will of God and

that their source of power was good, and not evil. When queried as to their religious convictions, patients all said that they believed in God, and many attended church.

The patients seemed to believe that simply sharing their bad experiences with the healer while having the Wax Ceremony performed was enough to alleviate their symptoms. They said that the Wax Ceremony forced them to dig up bad things that had happened in the past and to bring them to the forefront where they could be dealt with. This reaffirms that the Wax Ceremony was a type of psychological healing.

All of the informants--both patients and healers--were firm believers in the Wax Ceremony. Mrs. V. B.'s family was especially supportive of her healing practice, and Mrs. V. B. and her powers were revered by many of her family members. The number of patients who frequented Mrs. V. B. during her healing legacy attests to her popularity and to the large number of people who believe in the Wax Ceremony. The six other healers interviewed for this study all said they had many requests from the public to pour wax, and if they wanted to, they could be busy pouring every day. Mr. P. G., Mrs. J. T., and Mrs. M. H. claimed to pour wax every day in order to keep up with the great demand for their services.

All of the healers said that most of their patients were young children. However, men and women sought their healing as well. Of the 24 informants who had sought the services of a lay healer more than once, nine were men.

Mrs. V. B. said that among her patients were many Romanians. Mrs. J. T. said that she often poured wax for Italians. She said the Italian patients believed in the Wax Ceremony as much as her Ukrainian patients. All of the healers claimed to have patients who were "English," that is, not belonging to any mainstream ethnic group.

Throughout the ages, the Wax Ceremony was a culturally meaningful method of reducing stress. The healer who performed this ceremony was able to restore harmony and equilibrium, and by healing the patient, to reintegrate him into society. The healer was the pillar of social order. He was removed from the group by virtue of his power and his

ability to cure. He represented a dichotomy of good and evil powers. Wise in nature's secrets, he held the key to health and happiness and played an integral role in the social interdependence of the group. For example, if Patient X suffered the curses cast upon him by Person Y, Patient X came to the healer, enlisting his powers of curing. Thus, a social network began to emerge.

Over time, the Wax Ceremony and its practitioners began to exist as an ethnic subculture of mainstream Canadian culture. The Wax Ceremony was a healing ritual that was neither precise nor critical. As with all folk medicine, it was an instinctive medicine that existed in tension with other forms of professional and lay medicine. Its success could be attributed to the healer who was at once different and "familiar." The healer was one in beliefs, mannerisms, language, food, and dress with his patient and with other members of the society.

As Ukrainian immigrants settled into their new lives and developed and expanded economically, they became less dependent upon the group for moral and financial sustenance. Bloc settlements slowly began to erode as families made their way to rural communities or urban centres. With the advent of time came the "English" doctor--the professional. However, modern medicine could not compete with the Wax Ceremony. No medical textbook could prescribe how to propitiate powerful spirits capable of wreaking psychological and physical illness. Even today Ukrainians continue to frequent the wax healer.

Several informants said that if God did not help to cure a person of his fear, no doctor could help. Mr. J. B. said:

> ...no matter how good or how much specialization a doctor has, when it comes to wax, he is unable to do it. Like now, they give you pills for your nerves, but it's not the same. But it will never be as effective as will that (Wax Ceremony); as when she (Mrs. V.B.) pours the wax she believes in the prayer. She says the cure is not from her but from God.[1]

Mr. J.B. also said that professional doctors of Ukrainian descent had occasion to send their patients to a *baba*, or wax healer. He remembered Dr. Y. who worked in Shandro, Alberta. According to Mr. J. B., this doctor had sent many of his patients to wax pourers for relief.[2]

Fear-sickness or restlessness could be easily diagnosed and cured by the wax healer who shared common etiological assumptions with the patient. This, however, was not true of mainstream practitioners. Min'ko writes that Byelorussians who refuse to follow their doctor's orders often do so because they believe that the doctor is powerless because he is not working with God: "*Koly Boh ne pomozhet, to i doktor ne pomozhet.*"[3] [If God does not help, then the doctor cannot help.] V. Domanyts'kyi writes that in Volyn', Ukraine, villagers sought the help of professional medical practitioners only after going to their local healers. The medical profession was labelled as "*pans'ka vyhadka* " or an invention of the rich.[4]

The wax healer provided a service which no other lay or professional practitioner could equal. On the other hand, headaches, stomachaches, toothaches, infections, and a myriad of other diseases and discomforts could be alleviated by visiting one's mainstream medical doctor. Eventually, folk doctors and their knowledge of indigenous herbs and plants which were used in the curing of these maladies were replaced by the professional, mainstream doctor. The Wax Ceremony, however, not only obtained but continued to flourish in Alberta because of the demand which only lay healers could fill.

B. The Survival of the Wax Ceremony

In addition to the wax healer's understanding and appreciation of the patient's disease causation, there are several other factors which may have contributed to the popularity and longevity of the Wax Ceremony.

a) Setting

The Wax Ceremony is performed in the comfort of the healer's home. In rare instances, some healers like Mrs. M.H. made house calls if the patient was unable to travel to the healer. Nonetheless, the healing takes place in a home environment rather than in a medical institution. Within homes there are cultural symbols with which the patients can identify, thereby making their visits less intimidating. For example, all of the healers in this study had a "touch of Ukraine" in their homes. Mr. P. G. had many icons around his home. Mrs. D. M. had embroidered cloths and carved items which are typically associated with Ukrainian culture. When compared to a doctor's sterile, formal office surroundings, it becomes clear which setting would help to make the patient feel more relaxed and more at home. The patient can visually relate to the wax healer via shared cultural symbols. According to L. Russell, the home ". . . provides . . . a feeling of security. . . . It is a setting which is supportive of the *curandera's* authority."[5]

b) A Sympathetic Ear

On average, a patient can expect to spend upwards of one hour with the wax healer. All of the healers begin by speaking to the patient not only about their illness, but about general things such as family, mutual friends, or the weather. The healer expresses an interest in the personal life of his patient. Such conversation relaxes the patient and eases the purging of emotions. The patient opens up to the healer, and over tea or lunch, which the healer usually prepares specially for the patient, friendship, trust, and a bond develop.

The wax healer's treatment of the patient is in sharp contrast to the professional world, where doctors rarely know their patients' names, and appointments are often scheduled at fifteen-minute intervals. In such an environment, there is little room for

sharing and understanding. On the other hand, the folk healer's approachability and warmth is not universally valued. B. Cobb, for example, refers to folk healers as quacks. He writes that patients detour to quacks in search of reassurance, hope, recovery, kindness, consideration and communication.[6]

c) The Wax Healer

There is no doubt that healers who practice the Wax Ceremony enjoy a very privileged status within the Ukrainian community. They are held in high regard by their patients. Their knowledge of healing is acquired through special channels, and their skills are innate. Theirs is a privileged and mysterious calling. They and their secrets enjoy great social stability. While many of the patients who were interviewed for this study claimed that even the researcher should be able to learn how to pour wax effectively, the majority felt that healers were chosen by God because of their special qualities.

The oldest or youngest child in a family was believed to have special healing abilities. All of Mrs. V. B.'s family members referred to this phenomenon. Mrs. J. T. looked for crosses on the left hand of a potential healer. If there were three crosses on the hand, she believed that the individual had the ability to cure. Mrs. J. T. also said that in addition to possessing these special crosses, she was also endowed with powers because she was the 13th child in her family.

W. Hand explains the acquisition of power as follows:

> The folk healer's art is acquired in two ways, but essentially the endowment falls into three main categories, namely a gift specially conferred, one innate in the healer, or one resulting from some unique condition, a new acquired status or even happenstance.[7]

Folk healers typically keep their healing art a secret. In an article about the health practices of peasants in Ukraine, S. Podolins'kyi writes that it is difficult to research these healers because they keep their methods of healing in strict secrecy.[8] They never advertise their services, and are reluctant to share their incantations and rituals.

This kind of reticence was encountered among the healers interviewed for this study. Mr. P. G. said that he could not share his incantation with anyone lest he should lose his power to heal. He also threatened the researcher with spells if she tried to harm him or his powers.[9] Mrs. J. T. said that if she told anyone her incantations, she would lose her powers. She said that when she was ready to retire she would pass along her incantations. In the meantime, she locked the words to her incantation, together with the names of three healers whom she had chosen to continue her healing after her death, in a safety deposit box. Mrs. V. B. had to "steal" her incantations from her mother-in-law, who refused to teach her. A relative of one of the healers interviewed by the researcher advised that once she had passed on her entire incantation, the healer, relieved of the burden to heal, would be free to die. Shortly after the final interviews for this study were completed, the healer passed away. The relative found it difficult not to associate the researcher with the cause for the healer's death.

d) The Power of Folk Medicine

J. Frank lists four criteria for effective folk curing:[10]

1) the faith of the healers in their own abilities to cure
2) the faith of the patient in the healer's abilities
3) acknowledgement of the disease by the social group
4) acceptance of the healing method by the group.

According to these criteria, the Wax Ceremony could be labelled as effective folk medicine.

All of the patients interviewed for this study claimed that the Wax Ceremony had worked for them. It had relieved them of their psychological and physiological ailments. They were satisfied with their healers and the cures which they had wrought. Equally, healers felt that they were very successful in their own work. If a patient did not recover after one pouring, the healer relinquished responsibility by explaining that the fear had been left unattended by the patient too long. Both healer and patient believed very strongly in the Wax Ceremony.

Perhaps the magical and mystical qualities which are attached to the Wax Ceremony have served to preserve it. In the minds of both patient and healer, the Wax Ceremony is a very special and powerful phenomenon. The rewards that wax healers enjoy are numerous. They are made to feel important in their families, local communities, and beyond. Their often extroverted nature coupled with their genuine desire and need to help people brings them friendship and fame, and in some instances, fortune. They are needed by the community as healers, psychologists, and confidants. From generation to generation these healers pass on a legacy, culture, and tradition which are identifiable as Ukrainian.

In almost 100 years of existence in Canada, the Wax Ceremony has remained true to form and popular as ever. The healers who practice it propogate a sense of community and social interdependence. Their importance goes much beyond the realm of healing. They are a mainstay of the Ukrainian microcosm. They are a rare breed: they form a cultural continuum.

C. Predictions for the Future

It is the researcher's best guess that for perhaps another generation, the demand for the Wax Ceremony will remain high. However, this genre of Ukrainian folk medicine, like other indigenous medicines transported from Ukraine, could eventually die out. Language

loss, assimilation, science, and technology are taking their toll. It does not appear that fourth and fifth generation Ukrainians are playing an active role in preserving the Wax Ceremony. At best, their interest can be described as curiosity or as an attempt to "get in touch" with their culture and their past.

Resilient thus far, the Wax Ceremony will continue to mutate and adapt along with changing worldviews as long as successive generations of Ukrainian-Canadians consider it to be culturally relevant. If patients continue to value the wax healers and share common disease etiologies with them, the Wax Ceremony will survive. Like beeswax over a flame, it will melt, reshape, and be interpreted anew.

Notes

1. Mr. J. B., Interview Number 29, p. 192.

2. Ibid., p. 190.

3. L. I. Min'ko, Narodnaia meditsina Belorussii (Minsk: Nauka i Tekhnika, 1969), p. 50.

4. V. Domanyts'kyi, "Narodnia medytsyna u Rovens'komu poviti" in Materiialy do Ukrains'koi Etnolohii, Vol 6 (1905), p. 101.

5. L. Russel, "Conversation with a Curandera" in Folklore Women's Communication, Vol. 21 (1981), p. 12.

6. B. Cobb, "Why do People Detour to Quacks?" in The Psychiatric Bulletin, Vol. 3 (1954), p. 69.

7. W. Hand, Magical Medicine (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), p. 44.

8. S. Podolins'kyi, "Zdorovie krestian na Ukraine" in Delo, Vol. 5 (1879), p. 186.

9. Mr. P. G., Interview Number 14, p. 81.

10. J. Frank, "The Dynamics of the Psychotherapeutic Relationship: Determinants and Effects of the Therapist's Influence" in Psychiatry, Vol. 22 (1959), p. 21.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. Fear: *Pereliak, liak, perepolokh, strakh, perestrakh*
2. Fear which has been left untreated: *Zadavnenyi strakh*
3. To go to bed with fear; to sleep on one's fear: *Zaspanyi strakh*
4. To become afraid: *Nastrashytysia, perepudytysia, naliakatysia*
5. Wax: *Visk, vaks*
6. To pour wax: *Visk zlyvaty, visk vylyvaty*
7. The wax hardens: *Visk perelovyt'sia*
8. Female Healer: *Baba, babka, babtsia, babunia, baba-povytukha, baila, chaklunka, charivnytsia, charnytsia, chudesnytsia, koldunytsia, obavnytsia, potvornytsia, proklinnytsia, prymivnytsia, sheptukha, starukha, starushka, vid'ma, vidunka, vishchunytsia, vorozhka, vorozhbytka, vorozhylia, vydunytsia, zhena-vorozhylia, znakha, znakhurka, zolotarykha*
9. Incantation: *Prymivka, molytva, slova, nahalas, vidshipchennia, zamovlennia, zamovliannia, zachytuvannia, zaklynannia, zahovor*
10. To pray an incantation: *Prymovliaty, skazaty paru sliv vid sebe*
11. To know an incantation by heart: *Vid sebe znaty*
12. Superstitions: *Zabobony, bobony*
13. Fumigation: *Pidkurennia*
14. Fumigation "bundle": *Pidkuriuvalo, sviachenne*
15. To make wax formations: *Vidmal'ovalosia; se vilialo, shcho visk skazhe*
16. Sickness: *Slabist', khoroba*
17. Counterclockwise: *Na widlie*
18. To pass on one's healing knowledge: *Peredaty, pidibraty kohos'*
19. Woman's day: *ZHinochyi den', babs'kyi den'*
20. Men's day: *KHlops'kyi den'*
21. Mixed day: *Mishanyi den'*
22. Corner behind a door: *Hlukhyi koner*

23. To pour wax away from you: *Vid sebe*
24. To pour wax towards you: *Do sebe*
25. To catch an illness: *Slabist' pereimaiese*
26. A curse befalls children: *Padé na díty*
27. One or two days before a New Moon (when wax is not to be poured): *Porozhnyi den'* [empty day]
28. To go to have wax poured: *Pity na visk*
29. To feel better: *Lehshe meni, lyshylo mene, pereishlo mene*
30. He had epilepsy: *Ioho kydalo*
31. To interpret wax figures: *CHytaty visk, rozumitysia na visk*
32. To charge: *Braty hroshi*
33. To draw fear with an egg: *Vidkachuvaty strakh*

APPENDIX A

Research Questions Asked in Interviews with Healers

The following questions were posed during the researcher's interviews with the healers.

1. What is your first and surname?
    a) maiden name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
    a) city, province?
4. How many children do you have?
    a) where do they live?
5. Did you attend school?
    a) where?
    b) how long?
    c) major area of study?
6. What nationality do you consider yourself?
    a) your children?
7. When did you come to Canada?
    a) how?
    b) with whom?
8. Where have you lived in Canada?
9. What do you do for a living?
    a) approximate yearly income?
    b) does your spouse work?
    c) income from healing?
10. What other skills/hobbies do you have?
11. Do you attend church?

a) which one?
b) how often?

12. Does your priest know of your special healing powers?

13. How have you been involved in the community, e.g., volunteer work?

14. Are you known in the community for your work?

    a) healing powers?

15. Have you received any community honors or awards?

16. Do you recall any folk medicine being practiced in Ukraine?

    a) in Canada?

17. Where did you learn your folk medicine?

    a) from whom?
    b) when?

18. Where did your teacher learn?

19. Have you taught anybody/passed on your knowledge of folk medicine?

20. Do any of your friends or relatives practice this same medicine?

21. Do you remember the first time you saw or had anything to do with folk medicine here in Canada?

    a) what was it?
    b) who was doing it?
    c) where was it?

22. Do more men than women or vice versa practice folk medicine?

23. Who are your patients?

24. Where do they come from?

25. What is the age range?

26. What are their occupations?

27. How often do they come?

28. With what ailments do they come?

29. How do they find out about you?

30. Have you yourself ever gone to a folk doctor?

31. Have you ever cured yourself?

    a) members of your own family?

32. What kinds of illnesses do you treat?

33. Where does your power/ability to cure come from?

34. If you are unable to cure a patient, what do you do?

    a) refer him to another folk healer?
    b) refer him to a medical doctor?
    c) ask him to come back to see you again?

35. Have you ever cured patients which medical doctors had no success with?

    a) what ailments?

36. Have you ever discusssed your healing with medical professionals?

37. Have you had patients referred to you?

    a) by other patients?
    b) by other healers?
    c) by friends/family members?
    d) by people engaged in the medical profession?
    e) by a priest?

38. How long will you be able to practice your art?

39. Has your practice changed over the years?

    a) number of patients?
    b) sex of patients?
    c) type of ailments?
    d) technique or materials?

40. Has your age played a role in increasing the number of patients or the way your patients view you?

41. How many people have you cured in your lifetime?

    a) how many failures have you had?

42. Besides curing people and being involved in medicine, do you know any charms or "sorcery"?

    a) what kinds?
    b) where did you learn them?
    c) do you still practice them?

43. Can you describe the Wax Ceremony in detail?

    a) preparation?

b) materials?
c) formulae?
d) symptoms?
e) method?

44. Do your children know how to perform the Wax Ceremony?

a) friends?
b) neighbors?

45. Do the above know of your practice?

46. What do they think?

47. How often do you deal specifically with the Wax Ceremony?

48. Why did you become a healer?

49. How and when did you become a healer?

50. How did you know you would have the talent/power?

51. How did that power/talent manifest itself?

52. Why do you continue to heal?

53. What are the rewards?

a) personal?
b) financial?

54. Are you a good doctor?

55. Do you enjoy doing what you do?

APPENDIX B

Research Questions Asked in Interviews with Patients

The following questions were posed during the researcher's interviews with patients or individuals who had sought the services of wax healers.

1. What is your first and surname?
    a) maiden name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
    a) city, province?
4. How many children do you have?
    a) where do they live?
5. Did you attend school?
    a) where?
    b) how long?
    c) major area of study?
6. What nationality do you consider yourself?
    a) your children?
7. When did you come to Canada?
    a) how?
    b) with whom?
8. Where have you lived in Canada?
9. What do you do for a living?
    a) approximate yearly income?
    b) does your spouse work?
10. What other skills/hobbies do you have?
11. Do you attend church?

a) which one?
b) how often?

12. How have you been involved in the community, e.g., volunteer work?

13. Are you known in the community for your work?

14. Have you received any community honors or awards?

15. How many folk doctors do you know?

16. Where do they live?

17. Are they all Ukrainian?

    a) are their patients all Ukrainian?

18. Where did you learn about them?

19. How did you find out about your healer?

20. How many times have you been to visit him/her?

21. For what ailments?

22. Do you have a family medical doctor?

23. How far away does he live?

24. Does your medical doctor know that you visit your folk doctor?

25. What kind of cures have you sought from your:

    a) medical doctor?
    b) folk doctor?

26. Who do you go to first and for what?

    a) most often?

27. Has your folk doctor ever cured you of something that your medical doctor could not?

    a) vice versa?

28. How much were you charged by your folk doctor?

    a) was the fee in line with the service?

29. Does anybody in your family or friends go to a folk healer?

    a) to your particular healer?
    b) how often?
    c) for what ailments?

d) have they been cured?

30. Have you personally recommended this healer to anybody?

    a) to how many people?
    b) for what ailments?

31. Have you discussed your folk healer with:

    a) family and friends?
    b) medical doctor or medical professionals?
    c) local priest?

32. In a given year, how often would you visit your:

    a) folk doctor?
    b) medical doctor?

33. Which doctor is better/worse for which ailments?

34. Have you ever sought the advice of both doctors simultaneously?

35. How many times have you been cured by the Wax Ceremony?

    a) has it ever been unsuccessful?

36. When your folk doctor is no longer able to practice his medicine, where will you go?

37. Do you speak to your medical doctor in:

    a) Ukrainian?
    b) English?

38. With whom are you more at ease discussing your medical problems?

39. Have you ever sought medical advice:

    a) from another medical doctor?
    b) from another folk doctor?
    c) from a priest?

40. Does it matter to you if your medical doctor is a man or a woman?

    a) what is the sex of your folk doctor?

41. What ailments is your folk doctor capable of curing?

    a) not curing?

42. Is he/she better at some than others?

43. What ailments can he/she heal that your medical doctor cannot heal?

44. Is your folk doctor involved in any "black magic"?

45. How do you decide whether to go to your folk doctor or medical doctor?

46. Do you prefer one over the other? Why?

47. How did your folk healer become a healer?

48. How long have you know him/her as a healer?

49. How long has he/she been healing?

50. How successful is he/she at healing?

51. Is he/she good? Why?

52. What do other people say about your healer?

    a) as a member of your community?
    b) as a healer?

53. How would you describe your overall health?

54. How do you know when it is necessary to have the Wax Ceremony performed?

55. How do you know when you are cured?

    a) how many times have you been afflicted?
    b) cured?

56. Is there any way to prevent this sickness?

57. Are there any other cures besides the Wax Ceremony which cure this sickness?

    a) who can perform these cures?

58. Have you discussed this sickness with your:

    a) family and friends?
    b) medical doctor?

59. What are their reactions?

60. Will you continue to seek the advice of your folk healer? Why?

APPENDIX C

Waiver Release

Waiver Release Form

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVIC AND EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE

DECLARATION BY INFORMANT

You have been asked for information to be used in connection with a Ph.D./M.A. thesis/course work for the Department of Slavic and East European Studies. The purpose of this program is to gather and preserve information for historical and scholarly use. One or more audiotape/videotape recording(s) will be made of your interview(s) and placed in the Archives of the Department of Slavic and East European Studies.

I _____, have read the above and, in view of the historical and scholarly value of this information, I knowingly and voluntarily permit the Department of Slavic and East European Studies full use of this information.

_____
Signature of Informant

_____
Signature of Interviewer on
behalf of the Department of
Slavic and East European Studies

_____
Date

PHOTOGRAPHIC PLATE

Tools of the Trade

A. Mrs. V. B.'s healing instruments. (Top and clockwise)

White enamel bowl into which molten wax is poured. Contains tap and holy water and one whole clove of garlic.

White enamel cup in which wax is melted.

Metal-and-plastic butter knife.

Incenser.

Shot glass from which the patient drinks.

B. Smooth surface of hardened wax indicates a patient's fears have been alleviated, or totally "poured out."

C. Two pointed protrusions, lower left quadrant, indicate a patient has been frightened by a loud or sudden noise.

D. Curly, clumped protrusions, lower right quadrant, indicate bad nerves. Ripples in wax, bottom left quadrant, photo "D", and upper right quadrant, photo "C", indicate the patient has been frightened by water.

VITA

NAME: Rena Jeanne Hanchuk

PLACE OF BIRTH: Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1960

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION: B. A. Honors Slavic Languages, University of Alberta, Magna cum laude, 1982. Special Student, Ukrainian language and folklore, Kiev State University, Kiev, Ukrainian S.S.R., 1982-83. Student of pedagogy, Ukrainian Free University, Munich, West Germany, 1984.

HONORS AND AWARDS:

1986	J. Syroid Scholarship, Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Club, Sudbury, Ontario
1984	St. John's Institute Scholarship in memory of S. F. Woloshyn
1982	Ukrainian National Prize, U.S.A.
1978	United Nations Scholarship for outstanding achievement in Social Studies and English
1978	E. G. Hale Award for outstanding proficiency in two or more foreign languages
1978	Eastglen Book Award for outstanding achievement in French

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE: Sessional lecturer, Department of Slavic and East European Studies, University of Alberta; Sessional lecturer, Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages, University of Regina; Historic interpreter, Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village.